SADHUS IN CONTEMPORARY INDIAN SOCIETY
A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF SELECTED SAMPRADAYAS

Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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1999

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9 August 1999

CERTIFICATE

This thesis entitled "***Sadhus* in Contemporary Indian Society : A Sociological Study of Selected *Sampradayas***" submitted for the ***Doctor of Philosophy Degree*** thesis has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my original work.

(PUSHKAR MISRA)

We recommend that the thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of Ph D degree of this University.

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To

My Mother

Preface

From the first utterances of *Sruti* to an *era* of global flux humanity has uncovered aspects of its existence which require to be looked afresh.

The course of history uncovers unknown horizons. When the world is shrinking and scientific and technological innovations become obsolete by the time, they see light of the day, when information revolution has crossed the barriers of human existence, when attempts are being made to understand the nature and process of coming cyber society, when computer state is on anvil, when technology not only transforms culture but creates one of its own, when entertainment is growing to become the largest industry, when cultural barriers are proving to be more fragile than even a rope of sand, when human predicament is at its zenith, when environmental hazards raises the very question of survival of humanity, when the finitude of `modernity' beginning its search for limitlessness and ending in limiting itself further, when there are questions regarding purpose of life, when the human mind is asking number of questions, whose answers are yet to be found, it is imperative that humanity needs a rethinking on the ways of its existence, on the ways of its thinking.

The thought process, which leads to the various processes in society manifests itself through linguistic categories which in turn builds the conception of the world. The categories of conversation in the age of information revolution are attaining "global character" independent of the context in which they emerge. It is in this context that the categories of cognition and cognitive methods evolved in the discourse of western social science tradition no more remain the only valid "modes of understanding".

At the heart of the problem of the study of *sampradaya* is the problem of categories of cognition and cognitive methods. *Sampradaya* is an unique institution

of humanity as its continuity remains intact even after the test of several millenia. As all other institutions of humanity are either transformed, swayed or swallowed by the wave of "modernity", the *guruparampara* (*guru* tradition) in *sampradayas* is alive in all its youth. *Sruti* is a living reality among many of the *sampradayas*, since the first utterances of *Rg-sanhita*.

The categories of cognition and cognitive methods in the inter *sampradaya* discourses have their own historicity and modes of examination and verification. It is in this context that the categories of cognition and cognitive methods of the western social science tradition were found to be misplaced. The categories of cognition and cognitive methods emerging through inter-*sampradaya* discourses are rooted in the historicity of their *darsanas*. The *darsanas* deploy categories with precise and technical connotations, which need to be understood in their context. These categories have a vibrant relationship with the *sampradayas* of the contemporary times. The categories emerging from the "*anvekshana* " of *sampradayas* are either the same or are explained through the categories of *darsanic* discourse. All this makes the western social science tradition out of place in context of our study of *sampradaya* through *sadhus* in contemporary times.

We were left with only five options, first to mould our "data" to suit the western social science tradition, second to provide an exegetic interpretation of our study, third to provide a sociological interpretation, fourth to quit sociology and declare it as unfit and ill-equipped to deal with our area of study or finally to attempt and evolve an understanding with the help of categories and the cognitive methods derived from the area of our study with relation to the historicity of the intellectual tradition. We opted for the last option.

The social derivation of the sources of the categories of "professional understanding" deployed in the western social sciences, when put under the scrutiny of the cognitive methods derived from the context of various studies done by it will

demonstrates its inefficacy in dealing with the subject. It is here that *anviksha* (study based on anvekshana i.e. to search, to know, through observing and seeing) with its tools of *pariksha* (examination and verification) gains its relevance. *Anviksha* emerges through the categories of cognition and cognitive methods of the context. It does not consider any *pramana* (category for the source and proof of cognition) universally applicable to all contexts. In *anviksha* the categories of cognition and cognitive methods are subject to *pariksha*. *Pariksha* in different contexts provides its own sources and proof of cognition in relation to the context giving rise to its own *parampara*. The various *paramparas* existing in the *loka* form the subject of study for the *anusana* (discipline) of *loka anviksha*. This *prasthana* (study which makes departure from existing knowledge on the particular subject) is the study of the *parampara* of *sampradaya* through *sadhus* in contemporary times.

Any *anviksha* requires *jijnasa* (pursuit of know) and *mumuksha* (pursuit to absolute perfection). They instil the quality of relentless perseverance to uncover reality to know as it exists. At times *jijnasa* and *mumaksha* need *sambala* (support) to sustain the pursuit. The *sanskaras* imparted by the *santas* through their *sannikarsha* and grace is the only reason, for what so ever has come out as meaningful in this *prasthana*, the vestiges of miscomprehension wherever they remain are the fault of mine. My heartily *vandana* to the *santas* who provided me the vision to see, whom I met during the various stages of our study.

During the course of this study, at times the very idea of pursuing this study seemed futile. For *jijnasu* and *mumukshu*, it is essential to lead the life of *sadhana*, to realise that where even *pramanas* do not reach. The *pramanya* of *pramanas* is always under question on which any means of comprehension are based. Inspite of this, this work is seeing the light of the day, due to the people who were deeply

interested in getting this work finished. With *Ishwara's* grace their wish is fulfilled.

This study, perhaps, could not have seen light of the day, if it would not have been under the supervision of Prof.Yogendra Singh. His amiable grace alongwith profundity and vast experience played a comforting role. His openness to new ideas with capacity to uncover unknown horizons, is what gave confidence. Our *acharya* of sociology made it clear at the very beginning that although the work can be sociological, it is not compulsory to remain in the confines of the discipline.

By thanking the colleagues of *Asrama Rta*, Shri Anand Prakash Tiwari, Swami Virendrananda Saraswati, Brahmachari Vishwambhar Chaitanya, Shri Anil Goyal, Shri Devendra Sharma, Shri Dileep Kumar Trigunayat and Shri Rajneesh Mishra, we will only belittle their contribution. Swami Virendranand Saraswati opened the world of sadhus to us when we first met on the banks of *Sangam* at *ardha-kumbha*, Prayag, 1995. Brahmachari Anvesh Chaitanya of Kailasha Ashrama introduced us to him My stay at Rishikesh was in a hut of Surya Ganga Needam of Swamiji on the banks of ever vitalising *Ganga*. The serenity of the place leads to the feeling inexplicable. My stay there has been one of the most fulfilling experiences in my life. Brahmachari Vishwambhar Chaitanya stood as an epitome of true *brahmachari*. His company at Rishikesh, itself explained many things. Shri Anil Goyal personally arranged the bibliography.

We are also thankful to Shri Tiwari, the *purohit* of *Juna akhara*, who explained to us the various aspects of *naga* life alongwith various *sankaras* undertaken. This provided us with the initial understanding which was of great help. Shri Dubey of

N.K.Bose Foundation, Varanasi took us to him. Prof.Krishnanath Sharma gave us the reference.

We heartily thank Shri Ahok Kumar Sharma who provided us the residential facilities of Prayag. Enthusiastic Satish provided us with company at *ardha-kumbha-mela*. The young graduate student at Allahabad University was not hesitant, even to accompany us to the camps of *naga sadhus*.

We feel a sense of gratitude towards Mahamandaleswara Kailasha Peethadhishwara Swami Vidyanand Giri of Kailash Ashram. Swami Nischalanand Giri of the Ashram provided us details. The Swami, who is now looking after the office of *Kailash Ashram* referred us to various sadhus at Rishikesh.

We are extremely grateful to Sri Shridhar Joshi, the then manager of Badrikashram Joshi Math and now a *sadhaka* living in solitude and his then associates for making our stay comfortable and fulfilling at a place where Sankaracharya himself had undertaken *tapas*. He also provided us with vital information's and referred to some other sadhus. Sri Induprakash *Upadhyaya* a retired Sanskrit teacher of a degree college at Joshi *Matha* was also of considerable help.

We feel a deep sense of gratitude towards Sankaracharya Badrikashram Swami Vasudevananda Saraswati, Ramanandacharya Ramnareshacharya, Swami Shri Krishnacharya, Mahamandaleshwara Swami Asanganandaji, Swami Ramanand Saraswati of Sambhava Yoga Peeth Haridwar, Nirvana Peethadhishwara Acharya Mahamandaleshwara Swami Vishwadevanand ji, Mahamandaleshwara Swami

Kaushalendra Prapannacharya Ramanuji Swami Phalahari and various other sadhus, who played a crucial role during the course of this study.

We are thankful to Sri Mahanta Vishwambhar Das ji, Sri Mahanta Rasbihari Das and Sri Mahant Charandasji of Chatuh-sampradaya khalsa for explaining the various aspects of khalsa organisation among Vaishnavas. We are also grateful to Mahant Shankar Dasji of Bara Udasina Akhara, Mahesh Puriji of Maha Nirvana Akhara, Swami Ramchandra Paramhansa of Digambara Ani and Gopalanajdji of Agni Akhara.

We can never forget the courteous and affectionate concern of Naga Sanjay Giri, Naga Narayan Giri and Shri Digambara Shaunak Giri alongwith Naga Keshav Giri and Naga Suraj Giri. We are thankful to Inspector Dubey and Superintendent of Police S.P.Mishra, then posted at Ardha-kumbha-mela, 1995, Prayag for their courteous help.

Prof.Bansi Dhar Tripathi provided us with the initial understanding of the subject. His experience with the sadhus helped us in understanding their nature. Karpatriji's observations on his work on sadhus which he shared with us were very useful. I am extremely grateful to Prof.C.N.Venugopal of our Centre for his interest and valuable suggestions, which he made during the course of our study. The concern of Dr.Avijit Pathak and Dr.Anand Kumar of the Centre, time and again, was helpful in several ways.

Dr.Devendra Swaroop, helped us by opening up his personal library for our use and lending the books for considerably long period. We are thankful to our

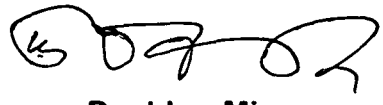
University library and the library of our Centre. We are also thankful to Nehru Memorial Museum and Library alongwith libraries of Banaras Hindu University and Sampoornanda Sanskrit University. The personal library of Swami Virendranand Saraswati and that of Kailash Ashram, were very useful. The libraries of National Archives and Central Secretariat alongwith Sahitya Akademi Library were also useful. We are thankful to University Grants Commission for providing the fellowship which provided some sustenance for the study.

We are extremely grateful to Shri Bharat Kumar for personal pain in undertaking the task of typing this work. Shri Kashmir Singh and Shri Vinod assisted in the work. We are thankful to Shri A.K.Talwar, Shri Satish Kumar and Smt. Sarala Mathai of our Centre and School.

We are thankful to Dr.Mahesh Chandra Sharma, Shri Rajendra Chadha, Shri Shyam Parande and Shri Dattatreya Hosabale, who helped us in providing a few materials relevant to our study. Shri Rakesh Sinha, Shri Rajeev Singh, Shri Manish Kumar, Shri Chaitanya Praksah, Shri Manish Saurav, Shri Prashant Roy and many other friends were helpful in their own way.

The affection of Shri Jana Krishnamurty and concern for the work fills us with the feeling of gratitude towards him. Shri Narendra Modi was always concerned about the progress of work. Umaji's affection and faith was of inexplicable help. Whenever Sudarshanji met, his first and foremost concern had been the progress of our work which itself was of great help. The discussion with Shri K.R.Malkani and his interest in the work was encouraging to us.

The affection of Govindji has always helped us feel that our enterprise is meaningful and fulfilling. We feel a sense of inexplicable gratitude towards Smt.Yogendra Singh for her motherly affection and concern. This work would never have been completed if my brother Rakesh Misra would not have shared the responsibilities of the family. The memory of my father is not only inspirational, but also foundational, as it was he who taught us the art of perseverance and the first lesson in *Bhakti*. It is beyond the capacity of language to express .....my mother. She wanted me to be an engineer, I refused. She wanted me to appear for IAS, I refused. She wanted me to at least complete my Ph.D, I couldn't refuse. This work is a manifestation of her wish. This *prasthana* is dedicated to her.



Pushkar Misra

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येनाह नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्याम

(बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद 2.4.3)

What shall I do with that which will not make me immortal

Chapter One

Introduction

Sampradayas and *Kula-paramparas* (family traditions) continue the everflowing stream of *Sruti* upto the contemporary times since the first utterances of *Rg.sanhita*. *Anvekshana* provided us an opportunity to understand, feel and realise *Sruti*. The *suktas* of *veda* are as alive as they were several millenia ago. One will have to put oneself into it in order to have the feel of it. *Anvekshana* of a *jijnasu*[1] and *mumukshu*,[2], was a journey of realisation.

Pramanas play the role of uncovering the foundations and existence of a phenomenon. We have attempted to uncover the process of *sampradaya* and the life of a sadhu and their organisation and the changes emanating from these through the deployment of *pramanas* under the light of *anvekshana*. Though *pramanas* through their *sanskaras* create a cover of reality itself, but they remain the last vestiges to be left with the *sakshatkara* (to be face to face) of reality. The institution of *sampradaya* and the life of a *sadhu* itself is a creation of the process of attempt to uncover or to say discover the reality. To uncover the process underlying it reveals the various modes of ascertaining reality. *Anvekshana* itself is a *sakshathkara* of reality uncovered or discovered through *pramanas* and ascertained and explained through nyaya.

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[1] One who wants to know .

[2] One in pursuit of perfection.

Anvekshana, literally means to search, to find through seeing, through observation[3]. the Ap.Dh. Su. (1.4.12.10) makes an interesting statement. *Brahmana* texts inform that the texts of *yajnas* "have been lost, but those texts, can be inferred from the actual performance" (of the *Yajnas* in vogue): *brahmanokta vidhyasatesham utsannah pathah prayogad anumiyante.*"[4] This shows that the lost texts during the period of Apastamba (who flourisheel prior to Christian era) refers to creation of texts through *anvekshana* (in this context writing of the texts related to *yajnas* through the *anvekshana* of *yajnas* in vogue). Various *Dharmasastras* mention of different practices in different parts of the country and regional distribution of *jatis* (also mixed ones), which clearly demonstrates that *anvekshana* was a prevalent methodology for the creators of *Dharmasastras. Vatsyayana* in his *Kama-sutra* refered to regional distribution of various "types of women", which also reflects the use of *Anvekshana* methodology. Kumarila Bhatta studied various Bhudhist viharas through *anvekshana* and evolved his critique of Budhist thought through that study.

Our *anvekshana* involved at first the survey of various *sampradayas* of *sadhus*. To our advantage, at the very beginning of this study came the Prayag, *ardha kumba mela* in Jan-Feb 1995. The *kumba mela* is held at Haridwar, Prayag, Ujjain and Nasik every twelve years [5]

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[3] We need to differentiate here between *anvekshana*, *anviksha*, and *anvikshiki*. *Anvikshiki* is the term according to Vatsyayana used for Nyaya (see chapter II) whereas *anviksha* is *vidya* based on *anvekshana*. Hence this prasthana becomes a text of *anviksha vidya* and can be called as '.ka-*anviksha* . *Prasthana* literally means departure has been used in content of distinction from other studies and approaches .

[4] vide Kane, Hist of Dh.S, Vol.I, pt.I,p.22,p.41.

[5] These cities where the kumbha takes place are on the banks of Ganga, Sangam (Meeting point of Ganga, Yamuna and Saraswati (now lost), Kshipra and Godavari respectively. The Kumbha takes place at auspicious dates as certained through panchanga calendar based on Jyotisha). The basis of which is following:

1. The Makar Kumbha at Prayag, when the Sun enters capricornus (Makar), Jupiter being then in Aquarius (Kumbha).
2. The Mesh Kumbha at Hardwara, when Jupiter enters Aquarius, the sun being in Aries (Mesha).
3. The Singha Kumbha at Nasik on the Godavari, when the Sun enters Leo (Singha).
4. The Kumbha at Ujjain, when Juipter enter Leo (Singha).

(at Haridwar and Prayag, after six years of *purna kumbha* or *kumbha mela* an *ardha kumbha* is held) all the sampradayi sadhus are represented at *kumbha mela*. It is in fact an event of sadhus held with equal reverence by grhasthas as well. At the Prayag *ardha kumbha mela*, 1995, we completed the preliminary survey of the various *sampradayas*, types of *sadhus*, their way of life, organizational structure and the pattern and change as seen by themselves. Although we had acquintance with sadhus previously also, but the event provided us with an opportunity to acquint ourselves with their diversity, their *achara*, their *sadhana* and their *darsana*[6] alongwith the categories of their conversation. Our previous acquintance and approach of *jijnasu* (inquirer in pursuit of knowledge) and *mumukshu* (inquirer in pursuit of *moksha*) was the only means to delve into the world of *sadhus* which otherwise would not have been possible. This almost vanquished the duality between *anvekshaka* (researcher) and the people with/of whom the study was being done. We approched as a *jijnasu* and attempted to see things as they themselves saw. Most of the *sadhus* took us as *sadhaka* as we were in the process and followed the rules and regulations they did. This developed a close affinity with some of them.

After collecting our *samagri*[7] through intensive *anvekshana* of over a month at Prayag, *ardha kumbha*, we undertook the study of primary and secondary texts under its light and prepared the *purvapaksha* of the subject under study. The second chapter of this prasthana is culmination of that exercise.

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[6] For *achara, sadhana* and *darsana*, see, Ch-III.

[7] *Nyaya-Vaiseshika* regarded all effects as being due to the assemblage of certain collocations which unconditionally, invariably, and immidiately preceded these effects. That collocation (*samagri*) which produced knowledge involved certain non-intelligent as well as intellegent elements and through their conjoint action un-contradicted and determinate knowledge was produced, and this collocation is thus called *pramana* or the determining cause of the origin of knowledge (Dasgupta 1963[1922]:330) , *Avyabhichari mimsandigdharthopalabhdim vidhati bodha bhodhasavabhava samagri pramanam.* vide *Nyaya-manjari.*

We classified this report into several headings and commenced our second round of *anvekshana* at Rishikesh, Haridwara, Badrinath and Joshi *Matha*. We stayed at the banks of Ganga in a hut where several *sadhus* were living belonging to various sampradayas as well as those following individual *sadhana* in soltitude at the Muni ki Reti, Rishikesh, we also spent time at Kailash Ashram, Rishikesh. Our stay at Badrikashrama, Joshi *matha* was for a week. We visited the *mathas* and *akharas* of various *sadhus* spread over Haridwara and Rishikesh in short intervals with Muni ki Reti becoming a semi permanent residence. In this way our second round of *anvekshana* lasted for about three months.

While pursuing this study and after collecting our *samagri* from the extensive second round of *anvekshana* and looking at it in the light of the detail report on *purvapaksha.* We entered into a "chaotic world", simple dialogical relationship with "conventional" western social science tradition was not possible, evolving a proper understanding of the subject through it could not be even thought of. When we entered the field with categories like `renunciation', `sects', `cult', `ascetecism', `penance', `religion', `monastic organization', `caste', `householder', `psychology', `sacred', `profane', `salvation', etc. It made no sense to us in the context of our study and also to the subject we were trying to understand.[8] When we referred to the existing sociological literature on the subject, we encountered that the categories of congnition used and some of them are mentioned above have been transplanted on the subject they were trying to understand. We found that the process of "sociological studies pervalent suffer from the crisis of category-transplantion.

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[8]In context of the studies on rural India Marriot observes "whether aware or not, however, the investigator who seeks ways of asking about equivalents of western `individuals', social structures', `kinship', `classes', ` statuses', `roles', `oppositions', `solidarities', `hierarchy', `authority', `values', `ideology', `religion', `purity', etc. risks imposing an alien ontology and an alien epistemology on those who attempt to answer. (McKim Marriot in India Through Hindu Categories, p.2).

Crisis of Category Transplantion

The "catagories of cognition[9] have their contextual and cultural value loads and connot be transplanted from one country to another" (Yogendra singh 1984:19). There is a close and definite relationship between *darsana* and *sampradaya*. Our respondents in the field from various sampradayas invariably used the categories used in the discourse of the *darsana* they accepted according to their *mata*. For example according to the *mata* of *Dasnami sampradaya* they follow *Advaita Vedanta darsana*, while Sri *sampradaya* follows *Visishtadvaita Vedanta darsana*.

The *darsanas* have evolved through discourses with each other over several millenia. The categories used in them, thus have acquired technicality, which is difficult to understand through transplanted-categories. One who easily understands "the *vedas*, the Upanishads, the *Puranas* and the law Books and the literary works". ..nd is also "well acquinted with European philsophical thought", may find it literally impossible to understand even small portions of work of "advanced Indian logic", or the "dialectical *Vedanta*". This is due to two reasons, "the use of technical categories and of great condensation in expression and the "hidden allusions" to "doctrines of other systems"[10] (Dasgupta 1963 [922] : 1). These categories are seldom properly explained, and it is presupposed that one who wants to study *darsanas* should have knowledge of them. Anyone who took to the study of *darsana* had to do so with a teacher who explained these categories. The teacher has got from preceding teacher and so on. This forms Guru *parampara* (Guru Ttradition). This process is one of the important aspects of the evolution of *sampradayas*. Any study of *sampradaya* has to take the problem of the category

[9]Yogendra Singh used the term concept, which we have replaced here by the "categories of cognition".

[10]Dasgupta finds this crisis at its worst while dealing with Navya-nyaya. He writes: "I have not dealt elaborately with new school of logic (Navya nyaya) of Bengal for the simple reason that most of the contributions of this school consists in the invention of technical expressions and the emphasis put on the necessisty of strict exactitude and absolute precision of logical definitions and discussions and these are almost untranslatable in intelligibel English." (Surendranath Dasgupta in *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol.1 p.X).

transplantation into congnizance. It is ironic that majority of the studies on *sampradayas*. existing in the name of "Hindu sectarianism" do not take cognizance of this basic fact.

Certainly various scholars recognized the crisis of category-transplantation, right at the beginning of formal sociological studies in India. Madan observes:

> Thoothi, a Parsi scholar wrote a doctoral dissertation at Oxford University in the early 1920s on what he called `the methods of investigation of social life with specific reference to Hindu society. He began his study with a discussion of the four *purasharthas*. In this early classic, now hardly reffered or read by anyone, Thoothi wrote that *dharma* `or the fundamental principle that govern life in Hindu society, may be studied in terms of the concepts enunciated in the ancient texts. Of these the most notable, according to him, were *marga* (`the way'), *mata* (`the doctrine that justifies the way') and *sampradaya* (`which combines a way and its doctrines in terms of a sect or following') (1935:64). From these first principles he proceeded to consider social organisation, among the *vaishnavas* of Gujarat in terms of *gnyati, gotra* and *kula* as also their economic organization (the village community), trade guilds, towns and cities, and their literature, drama and fine arts-a splendidly holistic effort.[11]

Thoothi's effort did not come out with comprehensive picture of *sampradaya*. It also ignores the *sadhana ,acnara* and *darsana* aspects of society, which play a very crucial role in a proper understanding. Thoothi's observation on *Purashartha-chatushtaya* became the basis for future "interpretations in sociology" which tried to overcome the crisis of category transplantation. "Hinduism teaches that each human being" is born to achieve *moksha*, that is salvation." Life so therefore is the "struggle of *dharma*" in terms of *artha* and *kama*, to achieve the final end of existence viz. *Moksha*[12] (Thoothi 1935:45). Subsequently, Prabhu, a student of Thoothi also made an attempt to present "the design of Hindu Social Organisation" in terms of the ideals of *Varnasrama dharma* which he wrote, provided the

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[11]Madan, T.N. "For a Sociology of India" in T.N. Madan (Ed.); Way of life, p.408.

[12]Thoothi further observes : *Artha* and *kama* are form of the very nature of man, abundantly given by the very birth and what it brings in material, social and family heritage. And *dharma* is also formed simultaneously; but in a lesser measure, perhaps as natural instinct. It is to be discerned in the cultural heritage of the people as manifest in their personal character, beliefs and their way of life, for they are supposed to use these *dharmas* as the motive and guiding power of their life of *artha* and *kama*, helping them to achieve the great and of their existence, that is to say *Moksha* (p.45).

If we look at the *purasharthas* and try to find out their meaning and significance as *yajnas*, we shall see how all the *purasharthas* converge towards the one end, viz, of *moksha* in any of its forms, each of which is a *yajna* or merging on the part of the individual with the ultimate (pp.45-46)

"corner-stones" of society; further, he maintained that the working of this society was impossible to understand without taking into view the notion of *purushartha* (1954)[13] It is surprising that while writing Hindu Social Organisation, the organizational dimensions of *sampradaya* and *panthas* alongwith *achara* did not come to his notice.

Thoothi passingly has dealt with a few aspects of change as in terms of re-interpretion of *Yajna* and re-instatement of *Jnana*, Karma and *Bhakti*. Thoothi looks into the change among *Vaishnavas* of Gujarat in terms of resistance to foreign invasion. This resistance took the forms:

> (1) economic, as displayed in the village oragnization; (2) religious and social, as expressed in the joint family system, and the compactnes of the *gnyati*; these two being encased in the almost impenetrable armour of *dharma*, and latterly of *sampradaya* and of *mata*. This what may be called passive resistance was so effective that even their conquerers had to yeild to it, and became in fact victims of it (Thoothi 1935:335).

Marriot (1990) took notice of the crisis of category-transplantation in detail and made "India Through Hindu Categories" as central focus of his study. Marriot tries to resolve this crisis through "accomodating mutually supportive combinations and concepts". He attempted to integrate *panch bhutas* or "five elements", *tridosas* or "three humours", the threefold typology of *satva*, rajas and *tamas* i.e. *gunas* and the "human aims, *purasharthas*[14], into a

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[13]Prabhu, P.N., *Hindu Social Organisation* (1954). New revised editions of *Hindu Social Institutions* (1940).

[14]Marriot in a joint effort with A.K. Ramanujan, Nicholas B. Dirks, Gloria Goodwin Raheja, Diane Paull Mines, Susan S. Wadley and Bruce W. Derr, Manuel Moreno and Melinda A. Moore attempt for *India Through Hindu Categories*.

Marriot seeking solution in ethno-social sciences observes.

More fully developed ethno social sciences may take their place beside the western ethnosocial sciences. Together with the ethnosciences of western ethnosocial sciences. Together with the ethnosciences of other lands they may provide better bases for the future claim of an expanded multicultural set of sciences to have that 'universal significance and value' which (Weber in 1904 (Weber, Max (1952). The Protestanl Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism trans. Talcott Parsons, New York : Charles Scrionex's sons) prematurely reserved for rational social thought in the West (Constructing an Indian ethnosociology." in Mckim Marriot; India Through Hindu Categories, p.3).

geometric model to derive "the Hindu constituent cube". Marriot also uses the categories like *`dharma' `sansara' `jagat', `karma'*, etc in his attempt to evolve on "Indian ethnosociology".

Summarising the works in the direction of the development of non-transplanted categories of cognition Madan observes :

> This is not the place to go into the genesis of various approaches to the study of Indian society which have characterised the work of Indian and non-Indian scholars in last half century or so. The subject is much too important for obiterdicta, and should be considered comprehensively and in depth. All that is possible here to note that, in an interesting flow of events, the importance of dialectics of people's own categories of thought and of other categories (from other cultures and from scholarly discourse has rightly gained wide acceptance in Indianist studies in the last five decades. Not that all questions have already been answered satisfictorily, but that at last some significant questions have been posed[15].

One very significant dimension which these studies fail to take cognizance is that of the linkages of sociological-anthropological *paksha* with Christianity and its philosophical worldview. Hence inspite of being sensitive to the crisis of category-transplantation they are unable to draw their linkages with the intellectual tradition of their context. Regarding this basic dillema Yogendra Singh observes:

> Western sociology is a product of an organic and dialectical transformation of its traditional paradigms of individual society relationship through the process of intellectualisation and secularization. Ideologically therefore, it is near impossible to dissociate this linkage from the concept and theory of sociology. The problem that sociologists of non-western world confront is that of integrating its conceptual system with the philosophical worldview of their tradition. In a new culture context this problem assumes acute siginificance.The historicity of the organic linkage of sociology in west with Christianity, its phenomenoligical tradition on the one hand, and on the other with Greek and Roman philosophy and phenomenology, renders it

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Many of the other essays in the volume have "attemted to use or in turn provide materials for the constructs developed by Marriot. these micro-studies do contain interesting insights into Indian social bevaviour but their main interest is for theoreticians in ethnosociology." (Jaganathan, N.S., "The Contextual Man," Review Article of Mckim Marriot (ed.) *India Through Hindu Categories. The Book Review* vol. XIV No. 5, 5-6, Sept-Oct 1990).

[15]Madan T.N. in praface to Mckim Marriot (ed.) *India Through Hindu Categories.*

possible in the west to view sociological worldview as an integral evolution from its past tradition. The same cannot be said to be the case in India. Our philosophical and theological systems in their individuality and variety have not undergone similar evolutionary transformative extension (1984:17)

Another important dimension of which these studies fail to take cognizance is that of the context of categories being used. Sometimes the same categories are used in extermely different sense in different *darsanas* and *samparadayas*. One has to know the meaning of each category with reference to the darsana and sampradaya in which it occurs[16], and "no dictionary will enlighten much over the matter" (Dasgupta 1963 [1922] : 2). The categories are "context sensitive" rather than "context free"[17]. Categories in these studies are "context free" and accentuate the crisis of "category chaos", which we have explained later. There are categories which have grown beyond their context. It is these categories which provide the common basis for understanding[18]. The problem arises when the categories have either been taken out of context and explained in accordance with the investigators model (as in the case of Marriot) or they have not gone (as in the case of Thoothi) into the historicity of the intellectual discourse having their own cognitive methods through which these categories emerge. In other cases, where they don't subscribe to any model, there they just provide context-free explanations ignoring the relevant context sensitivity.

Crisis of Institutional Transplantation

The crisis of category transplantation acquires much larger dimension when we realise

[16]This can be seen in the conception of *dharma, moksha, sansara karma* etc

[17]Ramanujan observes that what distinguishes Indian behaviour is that the cultural ideals under which it operates are "context senstive " rather than " context-free." quoting Frits Staal he says that "what Euclid was to European thought, Panini was to Indian" and postulates, "Grammar is the central mode of thinking in many Hindu texts".

[18]e.g. *dharma, karma, sampradaya, mata, sadhana*, etc.

that the transplantation does not exist merely at the level of categories, but almost in every sphere of public domain of "non-western" societies[19]. The structural transplantation exists at the level of political structure, economic structure, the structures of knowledge, etc. The university structure has acquired the state of the "most legitimate" structure of knowledge and "professional understanding". The "scientific analysis" of the "academic world reveals that the institution has been "socially licencesed" as entitled to "operate an objectification" which lays claim to "objectivity and Universality" (Bourdieu 1988 : xii).

It is in the domain of the universities that various "disciplines of knowledge" developed which have definite intellectual link with Christianity and its growth[20]. Since university structure became the "legitimate structure of knowledge", the categories of cognition and cognitive methods used in the disciplinary divisions of it became the "legitimate" categories of cognition and cognitive methods. Even in the field of philosophy"

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[19]Dharmpal observes, "public life and public spaces of India.... remain essentially alien constructs for people of India. For them every interaction with public institutions and their functionaries continues to be a matter of insult and compromise of human diginity, and every visit to public places of India a violation of their aesthetic and historical sensitibilities *(Bharatiya Chitta Mana and Kala*,

[20]The university structure in its own tradition has the historicity of its relationship with society over several centuries. "For about 600 years, 550-1150 AD, in Italy and other European countries monastic life based on the code of St. Benedict was the only type of religious life. This monastic influence continued to dominate the church until the emergence of the universities and foundation of the orders of Mendicant friars in the second half of the 12th century. The close connection in general between the universities and Christianity is testified to by the fact that they established chairs in theology which came to be held by mendicant friars. Even more significant than this general connection is the direct papal support given to the universities as the centre of orthodox theological teaching. The fully developed University of Paris, by the middle of the 13th century was divided into four faculties, three of them being designated 'superior' and one 'inferior'. The three superior faculties were those of theology, common law and medicine, the inferior one being that of arts. The close connection between the ascetic monastic aspect of religion and university life is seen in the fellowship system of the great Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Ghurye 1964[1953]:7).

It is ironic that how a "structure of knowledge" rooted in a different historicity got transplanted in a society of powerful intellectual tradition with much more early historicity.

For the relationship between sociology and university refer to Edward Shils; "The Calling of Sociology" in Talcott Parsons (et.al.) (ed.); *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory*, New York: The Free Press, 1965. pp. 1405-1448. Shils observes "The heterogeneous rudiments of sociology took shape before the emergence of universities; but sociology could not have become the comprehensively open and unitary sensibility that it is now, without having become a subject of the modern university syllabus.(p.1405).

the relationship is missing.

Dayakrishna observes:

> Somehow, the context of contemporary intellectual life in India, even in the field of Phiolosophy, has no relationship with India's intellectual traditions of the past, but rather with the way these disciplines have developed in the west and the way they are developing there at present. Western thought in all fields of knowledge is rooted in its own past. And, this is as it should be. But the story is not the same with other non-western cultures of the world; for them the intellectual past is also that of the west, and not that of their own traditions, even if they were fortunate enough to have one.

The university structure created "a class of intellectuals" with a thought about "western rather than their own cultural realities"[21]. They monopolised the "intellectual domain" setting the patterns of discourse and knowledge. This class drawing its sustenance from university system with "global networking" developed a common interest in preserving the patterns transplanted through structural transplantation. But gradually their relevance of the "knowledge" they produced started being questioned. The absence of the relatedness between the society and the structure of knowledge created a chasm which this "class" wanted to fill in order to preserve its existence. It is through this existential dilemma that the whole project of "indeginisation" emerges.

The "knowledge system" created through structural transplantation uprooted the intellectual traditions drawing their sustenance over the milleniums through *Ashramas*, *Mathas*, *Amanayas*, *Peethas* and Family traditions. It is through these institutions that over the passage

[21]Yogendra Singh (1978) analysing "academic role structure and modernisation" observes that university as a corporate body has a macro-structural dimension:its teachers play a role in the creation communication, and consumption of academic values (p.77). He writes, "university teachers are both the creators and the communicators of knowledge, engaged also in socialising the restive new generation of youth, they clearly occupy the strategic position in the social structures of society undergoing modernisation" (p.76).

of time "systems of thought" began to develop side by side. Most of them were taught from the time in which they were first concieved to about the seventeenth century AD in an unbroken chain of teachers and pupils[22] (Dasgupta 1963 [1922] 8-9) . *Samparadayas* evolving through this chain of teachers called *Guruparmparya* (Guru Tradition) added vitality and rigrosity to the intellectual traditions apart from fulfilling other functions.

On the one hand structural transplantation not only uprooted the traditional institutional bases but simultaneously created institutional bases rooted in alien traditions with inbuilt inability to relate to the society in context. On the other hand the issue of construction of social reality with the help of the categories derived from the context of the subject being studied was ignored or overlooked if not simply bypassed. The extension of the attempts from the intellectual tradition of the context to derive the categories of cognition and cognitive methods is missing.

Asrama Rta

It can be said conclusively that the need for non-transplanted categories of cognition and cognitive methods alongwith the institutional locus standii can niether be ignored nor bypassed. The study of *sampradayas* and *sadhus* cannot be based within the university structure. The issues involved in such study outgrow the disciplinary divisions of the university system, which cannot be covered even by the inter-disciplinary approach. The disciplinary division itself becomes irrelevent in this context. *Sampradayas* themselves form

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[22]During our *anvekshana* we found that, even now each system has its own adherents, though few people now care to write any new works on them. Swami Kashikanand Giri, Swami Vidyanand Giri (Peethacharya of Kailasa Asrama) and a few others have made notable contributions in the field of Darsana and Vyakarana (often translated as Grammar). We had an opportunity to discuss some of the issues with Swami Vidyanand Giri. Sinha and Sarswati inform us that another "important institution which we came across was that of the learned *pandits* now a perceptibly dying institution. Certain subjects of *Sanskritic* learning have already disappeared." (1978:15).

anusasana.(discipline) in themselves.[23]

This led us to search for such institutions in contemporary times which are still continuing their *parampara* (tradition) and are also attempting to locate the contemporary discourses from their own locus standii. To our surprise we could not locate any such institution during our *anvekshana*.. There were institutions continuing their *parampara* maintaining their pristine form saving themselves from the intrusions through the passage of time. Many of them transformed and adapted themselves to the intrusions. The former rather than attempting to define the changes occurring due to the passage of time and intrusions, rejected them and isolated themselves taking the path of extiniction. The latter defined themselves as the intrusions and changes rather than defining it. We faced an institutional crisis where in order to maintain the honesty to the subject under study, we had no option but to quit the "conventional modes of transplanted world".

In the very first round of our *anvekshana*, we were struck and pleasantly surprised to observe the institutions of the *parampara* of the first kind. The continuity in its `pristine' form still existed. Drawing its sustenance from these institutions, the idea of *Asrama Rta* dawned upon us. By exploring various *asramas, amanayas, peethas, mathas, akharas* and other such institutions, we attempted to arrange their various elements in the institutional form *naming Asrama Rta. Asrama Rta* provided the institutional locus standii for the evolution of thought process pervading throughout this *prasthana. Asrama Rta* emerged as an attempt to locate the

[23]Regarding the anusasanas (disciplines) of Nalanda, we are informed that the students at Nalanda, "as stated in the life (p.112) of Huen Tsang, `all study the Great Vehicle (read Mahayana), and also works belonging to eighteen sects (read *sampradayas*), and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the *Hetuvidya, Sabdavidya,* the *Chikitsavidya*, the works on magic or *atharvaveda*, the *Sankhya*, besides these, they thoroughly investigate the miscellaneous works (ib)" (Mookerji, 1969 [1947]: 556). This clearly demonstrates that *sampradaya* as an *anusasana* existed in ancient institutions of learning.

institutional context for the study of various 'traditions' of the global society amidst its paradoxes. This study is focussed only on understanding *sampradaya* tradition through *sadhus* in contemporary Indian society.

Crisis of Category Chaos

Having resolved to evolve an understanding through non-transplanted categories and institutional locus standii of the context, we entered into another crisis-zone, i.e. 'category-chaos'. The categories like *'Dharma', 'Sampradaya', 'Pantha', 'Marga', 'Mata', 'Achara', 'Sadhana', 'Sannyasa', 'Vairagya', 'Tapa', 'Sanskara', 'Laukika', 'Chitta', 'Vritti', 'Karma', 'Prarabdha'*. etc, to name a few among many others with encyclopedic dimensions were encountered while pursuing our study.

The first problem in this crisis-zone emerged from innumberable classifications, taxanomies, conceptualizations, definitions and meaning given to various categories. Almost, every *sampradaya* according to its *mata* has its separate taxomomy and classification to provide evolving through rigorous intellectual discourse. The existing literature existing in the name of "Hindu sectarianism" was not of any help either, accept providing minor inputs. Even, within the *sampradayas* their existed plethora of taxonomies based on *achara, darsana* and *sadhana*.

The passion for classification and taxonomy[24] alongwith pervasive emphasis on

[24]Jaganathan consider it to be an 'a priori' concern rather than empirical which is not true, The entire *darsanic* tradition alongwith other traditions emerges with immediate concern of leading a purposeful life. When we entered the field we found that the taxonomies by each *sampradaya* has empirically grown based on *achara, darsana* and *sadhana*. Even the *darsanic* traditon emerges with immediate empirical concern of leading a purposeful life serving the *purushartha chatushtaya*. The way of life of each *sampradaya* is shaped by its *mata* which takes form throgh *achara, darsana* and *sadhna*.

context is in someway related to concern with *jati*-"the logic of classes, of genera and species," of which human *jatis* are only an instance. Various taxonomies of "season, landscape, time, *gunas* or qualities (and their material bases), tastes, characters, emotions, essences (rasa), etc." are basic to the thought work of "Hindu medicine and poetry, cooking and religion, erotics and magic." Each *jati* or "class" defines "context, a structure of relevance, a rule of permissible combinations, a frame of reference, a *meta* communication of what is and can be done" (Ramanujan 1990 : 53).

Jati can mean first as logical class, it does mean social groups notably, a caste and was later extended to mean a nation. In traditional usage, it simply has the close, intimate, but in determinate meaning of community (in the ordinary English sense, not the more specialised sense of Gemeinschaft) (Kaviraj 1995 : 256). On the question, what constitutes one's kind (*Jati*)? Who should one consider as the same kind as oneself, one's swajatiya? Kaviraj responds:

> Swajatiyata is not an attribute conferred on a people by themselves or by others. It is a quality that comes to subject in them by virtue of their sharing the same natural and historical world (ibid : 257).

It is through the process of jatification that the crisis of category-chaos begins. Nyaya-sutra alone mentions twenty four elements of jatification[25] .

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[25]1) Balancing the homogeniety (*sudharmya-sama*); 2) balancing the heterogeneity (*vaidharmya-sama*);3) balancing an excess (*utkarsha-sama*);4) balancing a deficit (*apakarsha-sama*);5) balancing the questionable (*varnya-sama*);6) balancing the unquestionable (*avarnyasama*);7) balancing the alternative (*vikalpa-sama*);8) balancing the question (*sadhya-sama*);9) balancing the co-presence (*prapti-sama*);10) balancing the mutual abscence (*aprapti-sama*);11) balancing the infinite regression (*prasanga-sama*);12) balancing the counter example (*pratidrshtanta-sama*);13) balancing the non-produced (*anutpatti-sama*);14) balancing the doubt (*sansaya-sama*);15) balancing the point at issue (*prakarana-sama*);16) balancing the non-reason (*ahetu-sama*);17) balancing the presumption (arthapatti-sama);18) balancing the non-difference (avisesa-sama);19) balancing the demonstration (*upapatti-sama*);20) balancing the perception (*upalabdhi-sama*);21) balancing the non-perception (*anupalabdhi-sama*);22) balancing the non-eternal (*anitya-sama*);23) balancing the eternal (*nitya-sama*) and 24) balancing the effect (*karya-sama*).For brief explanation of these categories, refer, Vidyabhushana, pp. 67-84

We tried to work out a proper jatification of our samagri first, then for a proper understanding of various categories from numerous jatifications, we had to work out a comprehensive formulation of a particular category.[26] In Sanskrit from where the maximum of categories have emerged the style of arguments and methods of treating different topic are altogether different from what we find in any "modern work"[27]. Materials had therefore to be collected from a large number of works on each system and these have been knit together and given a shape which is likely to be more intelligible to people unacquinted with sanskritic ways of thought[28]. The *anvekshana* provided us the opportunity for verification and improvisation apart from adding new dimensions.. It is the combination of *anvekshana* and *sastric paksha* with sensitivity of *Sruti paksha*[29] *samagri* which opened the vistas of improvisation to build some understanding of the *sampradayas*.

The problem did not end here, the number of categories which had to be dealt were so large in number that an encyclopaedia of categories needed to be worked out to overcome

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[26]"Practical knowledge" is an operation of construction which sets up systems of classifications (taxonomies) in terms of practical functions. These systems organize perception and appreciation, and provide a structure of practice (Bourdieu 1988:194). Definition and classification are two essential tools "without which no scientific work" can proceed. In anthropological studies of "complex civilisations, for the very above reasons," one has to consider both "textual and "contextual" definitions (Sinha and Saraswati 1978:26-27).

[27]Most of the categories used by us have origin in Sanskrit. Sanskrit words are understood, generally in relation to their roots, their pronunciation-genesis. With the same root several meanings can be derived. The *sanskrit* categories, taken here do not overrule the root-rule, but they take the meanings as understood in *parampara* (tradition). We have followed etymological meanings as well at certain places, wherever, its necessity has been felt. It sets the direction for the proper understanding of the category. The difficulty arises when the *parampara* has completely transformed the meaning of categories and has lost the link from the root altogether. This leaves the scope open for further reformulation to provide new interpretation to the categories used here.

Sanskrit has the greatest advantage of providing innumerable interpretations. In past, this has led to several *pramparas* based on interpretations alone. Sanskrit has the capacity to deal with diversity of worldviews with minimal barriers which communication through language itself generates. Marriot observes that ideas drawn from "Hindu cultural categories offer coherent and comprehensive systems of thought, but especially because they illuminate dimensions of variations that escape the notice of conventional social science". Marriot, McKim: *India Through Hindu Categories*, p.xi (preface).

[28] Dasgupta followed this pattern while writing the monumental *History of Indian Philosophy* (HIP, Vol.I, p.ix).

[29] The various *paksha* i.e. point of view has been dealt in the second chapter.

it[30]. Hence we restricted strictly to the norm of not entering beyond the scope of this *prasthana*. The categories are taken one by one and explained subsequently. Categories from western social science tradition too have been used where it appeared to be approximate and did not put undue pressure on the ways of thought of the context. This is due to the precise reason that the process of the use of these categories has to be gradual and emerge from the studies not loosing their context in order to be saved from the category-chaos.

Studying *Sampradayas*

After resolving the crisis of category-transplantation, institutional locus standii and category-chaos, we had to select the *sampradayas* in order to make our study more focussed. Our two rounds of *anvekshanas*, totalling around for four months alongwith study of *Sastric* and *darsanic paksha* had made the notion and concept of *sampradaya* clear. On that basis we have written the fourth chapter supplementing by the *samagri* of other *paksha*. We selected the *Dasnami sampradaya of Saiva achara* and *Chatuh-sampradaya* of *Vaishnava achara*, for the precise reason that they covered the entire gamut of the study of *sampradayas* through *sadhus*.

According to Vaishnava mata their are only four valid *sampradayas* : *Sri Madhvi rudra sanaka vaishnavah kshitipavanah, chatuvaste kalau devi sampradaya pravartakah* : In the *kaliyuga* there will be only four institutions of *sampradayas*, i.e. *Sri, Madhva, Rudra* and *Sanak* that of *Vaisnavas*.[31] These four *sampradayas* are known as *Chatu-sampradaya* viz. Sri, Brahma (includes Madhva), *Rudra* and *Sanak*.

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[30] If we extend the argument too much, then the problem of language itself creeps in. It is interesting to note here that many of the classics of sociology in German and French have been written in their respective languages in extension, if not continuity of their own intellectual tradition. This may lead to write sociology in Sanskrit.

[31] This verse is from *Padma-purana*.

The Sri *sampradaya* further developed into *Ramanuji* and *Ramanandi sampradaya. Ramanandi sampradaya* has several prominent *panthas* viz. *Maluka Dasi, Kabir pantha, Dadu pantha, Sena pantha, Khakis, Raidasis*, etc. *Brahma sampradaya* (also known as *Madhva sampradaya*) developed into *Madhva, Hita* or Radhavallabhi and *Gaudiya sampradayas. Rudra sampradaya has Vishnusvami* and *Vallabhi or Pushti marga. Sanaka sampradaya* is also known as *Nimbarka* or *Namavat*. Thus within the *chatusampradaya* fold there are eight prominent *sampradayas* viz. 1) *Ramanuji*, 2) *Ramanandi*, 3) *Madhva*, 4) *Hita* or *Radhavallabhi*, 5) *Gaudiya*, 6) *Vishnuswami*, 7) *Vallabhi* and 8) *Sonak*.[32]

Dasnami.sampradaya is considered to be following *Saiva achara*.[33] . This is a *sampradaya* with ten names, viz. *Giri, Puri, Bharti, Vana, Parvata, Aranya, Sagara, Tirtha, Asrama and Sarswati. Dasnamis* considering themselves to have converted all other *sampradayas to advaita mata*, recognize only four *sampradayas*, viz. *Kitvara, Bhogavara Anandavara and Bhurivara. Kitawara* are those who attempt to eat only a small quantity of food; *Bhogavara*, i.e. those who are indifferent to all earthy things, *Anandvbara*, are those who abstain from begging and merely live on freely given

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[32]The following is the list of various *sampradayas* and *panthas* following *Vaishnava achara* as given by Tripathi, (*The Sadhus of India*), with additions from our anvekshana: The list is random: *Sakhi, Dharnishwari, Harishchandi, Mahanubhao pantha, Parinami, Udasi, Sami Narayana, Dhami, Rasika, Parasrami, Radha Ramni, Nirmala, Radhassami, Bhagat, Baba lali, Charan dasi, Dariyadasi, Nirankari, Kayam, Gheesa, Garibadsi, Gulab Dasi, Lal Panth, Nangi, Niranjani, Namdhari, Pattu Sahebi, Prem Prakashi, Panap panth, Ram Sanehi, Shiva Narayani, Satnami pantha, Sitarami, Sadhu, Saheb, Sathra Saheb, Bawari, Seva Pantha/Senais, Mira panthis. (independent pantha). Nimavatas or Sanakadis, Charandasi, Sadhana panthi, Madhavis, Pipa, the Rajput, Narhari or Ihtaryananda, Nabhuji.*

[33]*The list of sampradayas following Saiva achara as provided by Tripathi, B.D., The Sadhus of India, Sinha and Sarswati, The ascetic of Kashi and from our anvekshana. The list is random. Dasnami sampradaya. i) Giri ii)Puri iii)Bharti iv) Vana v) Parwat vi) Aranya vii) Sagra viii) Tirtha ix) Ashram x) Sarswati Dandi; Kanphata* or *Gorkhpantha* or *Natha panth* or *vogis; Aghori panth Virshaiva or Lingayat, Jangams (jangambari matha); Gudaras, Kara lingi; Samarth; Kashmiri Shaiva; Keena Rami, Kapalikas, pashupat; Shivohm; Satsain panth.*

alms and *Bhurivara*, or those who live in forest produce and herbs only.[34] This classification of four fold *sampradaya* is taken to be only one *sampradaya* by us because, among these four there are neither distinctions based on *mata (darsana, achara and sadhana*) nor do they have a distinctive departure in *guruparampara*. Among the eight *Vaishnava sampradayas* belonging to *chatu-sampradaya* classification these distinctions are very much present

The *Chatuh-sampradaya* in an specific context now means the four *sampradayas viz. Ramananda, Nimbarka, Madhva-Gaudiya* and *Vishnuswami*. These along with their organisation of *akharas* and *khalsas* are known as *chatuh-sampradaya khalsa*. Our focus being on the organisational aspect, we have selected *chatuh-sampradaya khalsa* to understand *sampradaya* organisation.

This study is more focused on understanding sampradaya, organization and way of life of a *sadhu* and subsequently evolving an understanding of the behavioural patterns and changes through the institution of *sampradaya*. In this endeavour our main focus was on *Dasnamis* and the other *sampradayas* where of importance only for comparative purposes to bring in the clarity in understanding. We have made references to *sampradayas* other than *Dasnamis* and Chatuh-sampradaya, as our *anvekshana samagri* collected during the *kumbha-melas* was of the *sampradayas* represented there in. After selecting our *sampradayas,* we reorganized our materials and prepared for the third round of *anvekshana*. In the course of writing the observations during *anvekshana*, after around a month, we realised the question of mode of our *anviksha*. We needed to work out a methodology. The existing methodologies

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[34] Sarkar, pp.61-62.

of sociological anthropological *paksha* did not make much sense, as the emergence of these methodologies had a different historical context. The cognitive methods which we intended to employ for our study clearly demonstrated their inadequacy. The earlier survey of *darsana paksha* was not of much help. At this point in absence of any relevant methodological tool our whole purpose of study was getting defeated. We left the third round incomplete and started studying the *darsana paksha* for a perspective and a methodology if any for testing the validity of our entire excereise.

Crisis of Cognitive Methods

The cognitive methods in *darsanic* discourse have been taken for granted and find little textual presence. The reason simply was that since education was imparted though oral tradition, teacher must have taught these methods, mainly on the queries of the student. But when various discourses were given textual forms, hardly anybody bothered to write them. its understanding was pre-supposed. A cognitive enterprise concerning ancient texts is missing. This makes "the idea that there is a hard core intellectual tradition in India, and that is differentiated according to different fields of knowledge" alien (Dayakrishna 1987:ix-x). Dayakrishna rightly points out:

> it is quite possible that if our Indian social scientists had a clearer understanding of the conceptual nature of the tradition, they might have had a sounder bases on which to build alternative models or a conceptual framework to explain the Indian reality (ibid:xxi)

In Social Sciences those who delved into the texts could only succeed in exegetic interpretation. None of such attempts have gone into the "existential phenomenology of man and his problems emerging in the process of growth of industrial society. Either such works are rationalisation of tradition or its mere sociological interpretation" (Yogendra singh 1985:17-18).

The absence of the understanding of the cognitive methods emerging from the context and their subsequent transplantation by the cognitive methods emerging from alien context is at the root of the crisis of discourse. It is an utmost necessity to evolve understanding through cognitive methods emerging through the discourse of the context. The third chapter of this *prasthana* is a culmination of that exercise.

After this we went in for completing our third round of *anvekshana*, which was completed around in three and a half months time. After this we wrote the *prasthana* in its totality. In the process of the writing, several gaps were found which required further study of *Sastric paksha* and further *anvekshana*. The study of the *sastric paksha* was done in the process of the writing. The further extensive fourth and final round *ankvekshana*, was completed during the *Purna-kumbha*, Haridwara, the last *kumbha* of the millenium during Jan-May. Our observations this time improvised and filled the gaps and added a few new dimensions to our study in the current form. After this final round of *anvekshana*, we re-wrote the entire draft culminating into this *prasthana*.

In this *prasthana*

In the introductory chapter of this *prasthana* we have given the story of our *anvekshana* and the various problems arising in the course and then attempts to solve them in our understanding of *sampradayas* through *sadhus* in contemporary times by the analysis of *Dasnami sampradaya and chatuh sampradaya khalsa* alongwith inputs from some other *sampradayas like Udasina-sampradaya, Nath-sampradaya* etc. The chapter is still continuing.

The second chapter of this *prasthana*, , "*Purvapaksha* : An Overview" deals with various approaches and a brief survey of literature related to the understanding of

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sampradayas through *sadhus*. It also contains various conceptualisations related to the subject under study.

The chapter briefly provides an overview of mainly seven *pakshas* viz. 1) *Sruti Paksha*; 2) *Sastric paksha*; 3) Sociological-Anthropological *paksha*; 4) Indological-Oriental *Paksha*; 5) Historical *paksha*; 6) Darsanic paksha and 7) *Anvekshika paksha* (based on our *anvekshana*). The *purva-paksh*a aspect of *Anvekshika paksha* includes the studies based on *anvekshana*. In stating the *anvekshika paksha* in the second chapter we have given a brief overview of the *anvekshana samagri* used in this study.

The third chapters of this *prasthana*, "*Nyaya* and *Pramana* : Categories of Cognition and Proof" deals with solution emerging out of the crisis faced during the third round of *anvekshana*, which has been already explained.

This chapter deals with categories like, *vada, anvikshiki, nyaya, pramana, chitta and pramana, pramana vihetana, pramanayavada* and *various pramanas*, like, *pratyaksha, anumana, upamana, sabda, arthapatti, abhava or anupalabdhi, aitihya, smrti, yukti, tarka, sambhava, pratibha, uha*, etc. These are the categories of cognition and proof applied in this *prasthana*. This chapter attempts to evolve a cognitive method in context of study of *sampradayas* and *sadhus*. Since the *sampradayas* in general and their *darsanic paksha* in particular has emerged in the various inter-*sampradaya* discourses through categories explained in this chapter the understanding developed of the categories explained in this chapter becomes essential.

The relationship between the intellectual tradition with the processes of *sampradayas* has been attempted to be understood in this chapter. This chapter also attempts to fill the gap

between the *Anviksha* (*anvekshana* based study) and the historicity of their own cognitive methods. In the sociological-anthropological *paksha*, the historicity of studies in non-western societies is the historicity of the west. In *Anviksha* which we have attempted to develop here is rooted in its own history. Attempts have been made through the study of *sampradayas*, to evolve the tools for *anvekshana* through the categories explained in this chapter.

The fourth chapter of this *prasthana*, "*Sampradayas* : Constitution and Distinction", is an attempt to understand the concept, structural process, operationalisation and institutionalisation of *sampradayas*. It is an attempt to understand what constitutes *sampradayas* and what are its point of distinctions.

This chapter is an attempt to understand the categories of *dharma, achara, sampradaya, mata, darsana, sadhana,* etc. in order to understand the overall conception of *sampradaya*. The attempt has been made to understand the role of *dharma* and *achara* as constitutive through the institution of *guruparampara*. Whereas *sampradaya*, *pantha* and *marga* have been tried to be understood for their differences. *Mata* being the criteria of distinction among *sampradayas* has been attempted to be understood in its role in different forms. The constitutive role played by *dharma* and *achara* institutionalised by *guruparampara* and the distinctive role played by the various forms of *mata* alongwith the different forms of *mata* i.e. *achara* (*achara* is constitutive as well as distinctive)., *darsana* and *sadhana* has been attempted to be understood in this chapter.

The *anvekshana samagri* played a very important role in evolving the conception of categories, which otherwise would have been lost due to the innumerable conceptions of these categories provided by *sastric* and *darsanic paksha*). This chapter is an attempt to

comprehend *sampradaya* as institutionalisation of *mata* through *guruparampara.*

This chapter begins with an attempt to the conceptual understanding of *sampradaya.* Based on our *anvekshana* attempt has been made to understand the *parampara* of *Guruparamparya* (*Guru* tradition) and its constitutive role in instituttionalisation of sampradaya. The sastric paksha of guruparamparya has also been attempted to be understood and explained in the light of our anvekshana. The attempt has been made to understand the adhikara and diksha aspects of guruparmparya on the basis of anvekshana and the sastric paksha.

This chapter further attempts to understand the conception of dharma and its relation to rta. On the basis of of the usages of dharma observed through anvekshana and re-interpretation of the sastric paksha of dharma, an attempt has been made to work out the different contexts of dharma, which play an important role in shaping the various aspects of *loka* (society) in general and *sampradaya* in particular. The attempt also has been made in this chapter to understand *achara* and its relationship with *dharma* and their constitutive role in *sampradaya* alongwith locating the various contexts of *achara.*

This chapter also attempts to comprehend the notion and concept of *mata.* On the basis of *anvekshana samagri* an attempt has been made to understand the formation and ascertainment of *sampradaya.* The attempt has been made to comprehend the distinctions among the *sampradayas* on the basis of its formations through the institutionalisation of *achara, darsana* and *sadhana* through *guruparamparya.*

The fifth chapter of this *prasthana,* "*Sadhus* : Organisation and Way of Life", begins with, an attempt to understand the concept and notion of *sadhu* on basis of the *purva*

paksha of *Sruti paksha* and sociological anthropological *paksha* as discussed in the second chapter. After this a proper broad based understanding of *sadhu* on the basis of our *anvekshana samagri* and the *samagri* generated through other *paksha (Sruti paksha*-categories related to *sadhu* as discussed in second chapter and anthropological sociological *paksha*) has been attempted. Further, an attempt to understand the concept and notion of *sampradayi sadhus* is made.

This chapter attempts to comprehend the concept of *asrama, matha, mandaleswara, akhara, ani, khalsa, panchayati* and the concept and notion of *sadhutva* through *vairagya* and *sannyasa*. On the basis of *anvekshana samagri*, this chapter attempts to deal with the organisational aspect of *sadhus* in its various aspects of *matha,akhara, ani,khalsa*, etc. The *matha* organisation of *Dasnami sampradaya* has been attempted to be understood. The management and the structuration of *matha*, their struggle against transplantative processes and subsequent changes therein too has been attempted to be understood.

This chapter on the basis of *anvekshana* attempts to understand the process of becoming of *mandalesavaras* among *Dasnamis* and their various organisation of *akharas*. The chapter also deals with the *panchayati* organisation of *akharas* and the *panchayati* process among them on the basis of *anvekshana samagri* generated through the observation of *Dasnami sampradaya, Chatuh sampradaya khalsa* and *Udsina sampradaya*. This chapter on the basis on *anvekshana* attempts to understand the organisation of *khalsas* among the *Chatuh-sampradayas* and their relationship with *Ani* and *Akhara*. Further, it provides an birds eye view of the attempts of universal organisation among *sadhus* through *sampradayas*. The chapter attempts to comprehend the various stages in the life of a *sadhu* of both *sastradhari*

(holders of *sastra*) and *sastradharis* (holder of arms). It also attempts to understand the distinction among the two. On the basis of *sastric* and *anvekshana samagri* an attempt to understand the various forms of *sannyasa* has been made alongwith its manifestation in various types of *sadhus*. An attempt has been made to understand the change reflected through this process. The chapter on the basis of *anvekshana* explains the *praisa mantra sanskara* which institutionalises *vairagya* into *sannyasa*.

The sixth chapter of this *prasthana*, "*Laukyaisation, Sanskara* and Sanskarization" is an attempt to understand the processes of change emanating in and through the *sampradayas* and *sadhus* in contemporary times.

The various forms of *sannyasa* leading to the various types of *sadhus* has been attempted to be understood in the fifth chapter. This led us to attempt to comprehend the process of *laukyaisation* manifested through changes emanating from the change in the character of *sannyasa*. In some cases it has led to the change in the concept of *sannyasa* itself. The processes leading to the activities of *loka-vyavahara* is *laukyaisation* in its widest sense. *Laukyaisation* in the specific context of *sannyasa* has been tried to be understood as the enhancement of *sansarikta* (to an extent worldliness) in the context of *sannyasa*.

The activities related to *loka-vyavahara* as well as those related to the progress of *sadhu* in *sadhana* has been attempted to be understood as the process of sankarization in this chapter. This chapter also attempts to understand *sanskaras* and its various aspects of *utkarsha* (progress), *sannikarsha* (broadly a process of conjunction) and *abhushana* (oranamentation). The first two are important from the point of view of operationalisation of *sanskaras* leading to *sanskarization*, while the *abhushana* has only literary significance. The

process of imparting and operationalisation of *sanskaras* is *sankarization.* We have attempted to understand the relationship between *chitta* (broadly consciousness) and *sanskaras*, which have their role in the operationalisation of *pramanas* too.

This chapter also attempts to comprehend the two levels of *sanskarization*, i.e. *vyakti paraka sanskarization* and *loka-paraka sanskarization.* The *vyakti-paraka sanskarization* has been understood in its activation at three levels i.e. *karmakandi* (broadly ceremonial and ritualistic), *Asramic* (stages of life) and *sadhana.* All these three processes and stages of individual life are the processes of sanskarization. Within the *sannyasa asrama (*the fourth stage of the *asrama* system, i.e. *brahmacharya, grhastha, vanaprastha* and *sannyasa*), the various stages of sadhu's life which has been attempted to be comprehended in the fifth chapter has also been attempted to be understood in this chapter as a process of *vyaktiparaka sanskarization.*

The *loka-paraka sanskarization* has been attempted to be understood in the various contexts of *achara i.e. Varna, Rastra, Desa, Janpada, Grama, Kula, Vrtti, Jati, Pantha, Yuga,* etc. The process of *sankritization.* The *kula* includes *Gurukula* and *Matr* and *Pitr kula* (maternal and paternal families). *Sampradayas* here have been attempted to be looked as part of *Gurukula* alongwith *asramas, mathas, guru's* residence etc. As subsequently explained in this *prasthana*, the emergence of *sampradaya* is seen in the light of the breaking up of the *varnasrama* system. This whole process is attempted to be understood as the process of *sanskarization.* The "*sampradaya* and *sankarization*" section of this chapter deals with *brahmanya sanskarization, rajadharma sankarization, arjana dharma sanskarization* and *seva-dharma sanskarization.* The understanding of the *brahmanya, arjana and seva dharma*

sanskarization is based on the observations during the various stages of anvekshana during the course of this study, whereas the *rajadharma sanskarization* is mainly understood here in the historical *paksha* with inputs from *anvekshana* and other *pakshas*.

The seventh chapter of this *prasthana*, "*Uttarapaksha*: The Subsequent View", is the conclusive chapter. The chapter attempts to integrate the various aspects of this *prasthana* and summarises it. It also explains the various *prasthanas* in this *prasthana* and mentions the future research which can be taken up for further studies emerging through the course of this *prasthana*.

Chapter II

Purvapaksha : An Overview

Purva-paksha referred here is in the sense of *anyamata* pariksha refered as one of the subjects of *Nyaya-sutra.* That is critical examination of the *mata* (point of view) of others on the subject under scrutiny. Literally, *purva-paksha* means prior view. *Purva-paksha* denotes the statement of the existing views on the subject under study[1]. Here we have attempted to provide an overview of the various approaches, conceptualisation, understanding and explanations of *sampradayas* and *sadhus* and the issues related to them in the existing available literature.

Vatsyayana while commenting on *Nyaya sutra* follows logical literary norm. The main theme of the work is unfolded in three states, called *Uddesa, Lakshana* and *Pariksha. Uddesa* or naming states or enumerates the main topics, the purpose. *Lakshana* or 'definition'-each topic is defined adding where necessary, the *jatification* of the sub-topics of each. *Pariksha* is 'critical examination[2]. Analysing this unfoldment with the method of *purva-pakhsa-khandana-uttarpaksha* (or *sidhanta*) we can say that *purvapaksha* (which includes all the prior knowledge existing of the subject) forms part of the *uddesa* and *lakshana* for proper enumeration and understanding. *Khandana* forms part of *pariksha.* In this study *anvekshana*

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[1]vide Vidyabushan, p.49.

[2] Vatsyayana, introduction of *Bhashya* on I.1.3. Debiprasad Bhattacharya observes that although *Nyaya-sutra* enumerates such a methodology, but it, itself does not follow the same (p.xxiii). For us it is the methodological aspect which is important and not whether text follows it or not.

As per Charaka sanhita, things existent or non existent can be examined by four means, viz.1) *aptodesa* (reliable assertion); 2) *pratyaksha* (perception); 3) *anumana* (inference) and 4) yukti (continuous reasoning.) These are collectively called *pariksha* (critical examination), hetu (reason), or *pramana* (means of valid knowledge). Vide, Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan, *The History of Indian Logic*, p.28.

provides another dimension of *pariksha*. Our *samagri* generated through *anvekshana*, study of *sastric paksha* (along with other *pakshas*) and observation of *Sruti parampara*, provides scope for *pariksha* of each of them under the light of the other (generally on the basis of *pramanas*).

Almost all the d*arsanas* invariably followed an important methodology i.e. *purvapaksha* (prior view)-*khandana* (refutation of the view); *uttarapaksha* (or *sidhanta* statement and proof of the own position i.e. subsequent view or conclusion). (Chatterji and Datta 1984 (1939): 4). Darsanas emerge through this process of *purva paksha-khandana-uttarapaksha* (or *sidhanta*) through all their literature created as *sutras*, *bhashyas*, *varttika*, *vrtti*, *tika*, *tippani*. etc. This process made *darsanas* encyclopedic in nature. When any particular *darsana* is enumerated all other *darsana* are taken as *purvapaksha*. This makes them self-correcting and evolving in nature. Since almost every other *darsana* gets included as *purvapaksha* the points of departure of the particular *darsana* gets in explaning a *darsana*, even a slightest variation in the mode of thought of a particular *darsana* gets explained reflected in the variation in other *darsanas* too. Apart from that other thought process linked to cultural processes, too had the impact. Dasgupta observes that it is not possible to write "any history of successive philosophies of India" but by studying and interpreting "each system" necessarily in all its growth, it has acquired through the successive ages of history from its "conflict with rival systems" as a whole. Each system grew and developed by the untiring energy of its adherents through all the successive ages of "history of its conflicts" (1963 [1922]: 64). This growth and development which took place through *vada* and *sastrartha* made each of them to accept the significance of the different "intuitions of reality and different scriptures (*sarvagam-pramanya*)[3]".

[3] Radhakrishnan, Hindu View of Life, p.20.

During our *anvekshana*, it was striking to observe that through various jatifications, there may have existed innumerable categories of explanation, but the context has always been influenced by each other. For example, the building of *khalasa* among *chatuh-sampradayas* and the making of *mandalesvaras* in *Dasnamis*, is very similar (see chapter five).

In this *prasthana* the *purva paksha* has mainly seven fold aspects discussed in this chapter. They are approaches, conceptualisations and understanding related to *sadhus* and *sampradayas* under various *pakshas*, which are roughly eight viz. 1) *Sruti Paksha*; 2) *Sastric Paksha*; 3) Sociological-Anthropological *paksha;* 4) Indological-Oriental *paksha*"; 5) Historical *paksha*; 6) *Darsanic paksha* and 7) *Anvekshika paksha.*

Sruti Paksha

In this *paksha* we have dealt with the various conception of the category *sadhu* existing in various names in the *Sruti parampara.* It is imperative to understand *Sruti parampara* before we undertake our task. During our *anvekshana*, we found that various *sampradayas* gave emphasis on *Sruti parampara.* They said that without understanding and having feel of it, it is not possible to understand aspects of *Sruti parampara.* We attented some of the Sruti recitations during our stay at Kailash Ashram. At Muni ki Reti, were we spend our most of the time, the *sadhus* living around, with their *sishyas*, used to have *Sruti* recitations every morning. These recitations mainly are part of the *vedic sanhitas*. It is in these recitations that continuity of `*Sruti* is represented through *sampradayas* since the first utteranees of *vedic suktas*.

Sruti Parampara

Sabda is *Brahma* (*Vak*.1.1) *Brahma* without beginning or end, the inexplicable, indistructible essence pervading the being and the universe is Vak. Manishis cognize *Vak* in all its four forms (*Rg- sanhita* 1. 164. 45). Of these four forms of Vak, three are hidden in *guha*, i.e. deep within the being, while the fourth is manifest in the speech of man - *laukiki bhasha*. The forty first *mantra* of *Rg.-sanhita* illustrates *Sabda Brahma* unfolding itself in gradual stages as *Ekapadi, Dvipadi, Chatushpadi, Ashtapadi*, and *navapadi* and ultimately pervading the universe as *Sahrakshara*[4]. Only a part of this *vak* is captured by man for his use as *laukiki* or *vyavhariki bhasha*[5].

The four forms of *Vak* are known as *para, pasayati, madhyma* and *vaikhari. Para* is the inexplicable indistructible essence[6], pervading the being and the univese. Pasyanti is the vision of that inexplicable and indisructible essence. *Madhyama* is the structuration of that vision and *vaikhari* is the utterance of that structuration. *Laukiki* or *vyavharki bhasha* manifests through *vaikhari*.

Sabda Brahma is *dhvani* not ordinary words or language (*Vakapadiya* 1.86). *Sanhitas* (collection of *mantras*) of the *veda* are not *bhasha*. The mantras[7] are the sound-system[8]

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[4] The *Aitareya Aranyaka* (viii) mentions three ways of reciting the *Rg-sanhita, prairina, pratihuja and ubhayamantrena* by taking the words singly (*ekapada patha*) or in pairs (*dvipada patha*), or in the continuous way, as in *krama patha* (Mookerji 1969(1949):27). This is done through the rule of *sandhi*, combination of words and *vichchheda* putting them apart.

[5] Mookerji,, 1969(1949), p.25.

[6] This four fold aspect of *Vab* is in *Prapanchasara Tantra*, II, 43. Vide Brahma, p.285.For detail analysis of *pasyanti* see Gopinath Kaviraj, *Aspects of Indian Thought*. He illustrate the similarity of *pasyanti* with few other categories in *darsana*, e.g. *Pratibha*, the nearest English meaning is intuition.

[7] Yaska *(Nirukta,* viii, 3,6) derives the word *mantra* from *manana,* "thinking" so that it means "instrument of thought", speech, "sacred text" addresed to diety. Yaska (ibid,vii, 1,1) further defines mantra to mean the words employed by *Rshis* in praise of the Gods for fulfilment of those desires *(artha)* which are in their gift *(arthapatyam)*. Thus the *Mantras* are meant to be recited for the performance of worship in the form of what is called a *yajna*. The entire *mantra* its pratical application at the performance of "sacrifices" *(prayogasasamavedarthasmarakamantrah)*.

Jaimini in his *Purva-mimansa sutras*, has pointed out that the *mantras* have double significance. They convey

existing in the universe uttered by those endowed with *tapas* i.e. *rshis*. *Tapas* brings them on same wavelength and endows them with the capacity of direct cognition[9]. The *rshis* who were the direct seers of *mantras* were followed by those who were incapable (*avar*) of direct perception, coming from *tapas*. The *rishis* therefore had to impart mantras by means of oration *Sruti* to them. Those who became *rshi* through *Sruti* imparted to them as *sishyas* by their teachers were called *Srutarshi*. The *rshis* imparted (*updesena sishyopadhyayika-vrttya*) them both the words of the *mantra* and their meaning (*granthatah arthascha*). The hearing of the mantras from *rshi* and simultaneously undergoing *tapas* awakened the latent capacities of *sishyas* to see the *mantra*. The *rshi* with the aid of *Vedangas* expedited this process. The *Vedangas* are *Siksha*, *Kalpa*, *Vyakarana*, *Nirukta*, *chhanda* and *Jyotisha*[10]. The *Sruti parampra* is manifested in contemporary times, through certain unbroken chains of *Guru-*

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a mystical meaning and produce unseen results, for which their mere recitation according to the prescribed order of their words *(patha-pramaniyam)* is sufficient (*mantranam adrishtarthamucharana-matram; ucharnat adrishtarthah*). But they also convey the meaning for the fact that the senses of a sentence *(vakyartha)* can always be deduced from the relations of its constituent parts like verbs and cases, whether the sentence is in *Vedic* or laukika speech (*kriya-karaka-sambhandhena pratiyamanovakyartholokavedyoravisishtah*). (Jaimini, 1,2, 40). Therefore, while the *mantras* must be properly pronounced to secure their spiritual effects, their meanings also must be properly mastered with the aid of the six *Vedangas*.

The *mantras* have a three fold meaning, (i) *adhyatma* (spiritual),*jnana* and *mukti* (concerning knowledge and behaviour), (ii) *Nairukta* (Etymological), concerning objective truths, and (iii) *yajnika* (ritualistic), concerning "sacrifices". The *yajnika* interpretation of *mantras* is the subject of *Purva-mimansa* and other two interpretations of *Uttara-mimansa* (Mookerji 1951 (1947) : 23).

[8] The *Aitareya* and *Satpatha Brahmanas* distinguish sounds as *ghosha ushman*, and *vyanjana*, dental and lingual and the sibilants *sish*, and and also discuss the rules of *sandhi* or combination of words. The *upanishads* (e.g. Taitti, i. 1,2) recognize phonological factors like *matra* (quantity), *bala* (accent), *sama* (euphony), and *santana* (relation of letters) (Mookherjee 1969(1949):27).

[9] VII. 103. 1 (Rg Sanhita) refers a period of such contemplation in silence during which *Brahamanas* burst out in speech (Vacham *avadishuh*) like frogs quickened of the activity by the clouds/*parjanya*) after a years slumber. It is this which fits the pupils called *abruvanah brahmana vratacharinah* explained by *Yaska* in ho *Nirupta*, ix, 6 as i.e. maintaining the vow of silence for the task of expanding *mantras*.

Again: "I ask : what is the source of *vak* ? *Vak* or *Sabda* is *Brahma (Brahmanyam Vachak)*. That *sabda* I cannot comprehend so long as I am bound by the senses and objectivity (*ninahah sannadho manasa charami*). It is the dawn of *Rta* (cosmic principle or supreme knowledge) which leads to the comprehension of *vak*". (I,164,37). Mookerji 1969(1947), P.29.

[10] For details see Radhakumud Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*.

parampara (*Guru* tradition) and family traditions.

During our *anvekshana* we found that *mantras* are the soul of *sadhana* on which the life of *sadhus* is shaped. Every stage of *sadhu* life is marked by *mantra*. *Sruti* is referred as *apaureshya* (i.e.beyond the scope of human creation). There is a wide debate over the parts included in *Sruti*. *Sanhita, Brahmana, Arnyaka, Upanishad* are referred as *Sruti*, where as some consider only *sanhita* (*Rg-Yaju,sama and Atharva*) as *Sruti*. Some include only *Rg., Yaju* and *sama*, referred as *trayi* only as part of *Sruti*.

During our *anvekshana* we find that the *Sruti* as a concept has undergone change. Apart from holding the above mentioned view some regard the teachings of the founder of their *pantha* or *sampradaya* as *Sruti*, e.g. the *Ramabhaktas* of *Ramananda sampradaya* consider *Ramcharita manasa* and *Kabir pantha* regards teaching of *Kabir* as *Sruti* or *Veda*. In the *sastric parampara* some consider even *Puranas* as *Sruti*.

Here we take *Sruti* to mean only *Sanhita, Brahmana, Aranyaka* and *Upanishads* (not all). Hence in *Sruti paksha* we discuss the category *sadhu* in its various forms as existing in *Sruti*, e.g. *Muni, Yati, Urdhvareta, Tapas, Parivrajaka*, etc.

During our *anvekshana*, we came across several of these categories, and hence we have supplemented our understanding of them through *anvekshika paksha* wherever possible, we have supplemented with other *pakshas* also.

Muni

Munayo vatrasnah pishanga vasata mala vatasyanudhrajim yanti yad devaso avikshatah (Rg-sanhita. X.135.2). *Munis* were *vatarasana*,[11] wore yellow and soiled clothes

[11]Here *vatrasana* comes as an adjective for *munis* meaning-one who wears wind i.e. is naked. Taittriya Aranyaka(1.21) informs us; *sa tapotapya sa tapas taptra sariram adhunate tasya yan mansam asita tatorunah ketavo vatrasana rsya udeatishthina ye nakhah te Vaikhanasah ye balah te balkhilyah* i.e Prajapati performed

(*pishanga vasate mala*); they followed the moving wind (*vatasyanu dhrajim yanti*) and attained the status of gods (*yad devaso avikshtah*).In Rg VIII.17.14 Indra is said to be the friend of *munis*(*Indro muninam sakha*) and in Rg x.136.4 *muni* is said to be the friend of all gods. *Muni* is one who has taken the *mauneya* : vow of silence (*Chha. Up.* viii. 5.2) to think (*mananat munih*)[12]; *Muni* is *devshito* and *unmadita maunnaneya*, `inspired' or `moved by the spirit' and excited with silence'.[13] One who knows *Brahma*.[14] He is variously styled as *yati, parivrajaka, bhikshu* or *sannyasi* synonymous with the fourth *asrama*.[15] The *Jaina sadhu* is also called the muni.[16] The word acquired a general meaning with *Baudhas* and is applied by the Buddha to one attaining perfection in self restraint and insight.[17]

During our *anvekshana*, we observed that those *sadhus*, who acquired higher degree of *sadhana*, are scholarly and thinkers were referred as *munis*. We come across referring of the *muni* to non-*sadhus* also. *Muni* in general means one who meditates and reflects, is a thinker of a highest order.

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tapas, he shook his body after that. Three types of *Rshis* were created, by his flesh-*Aruna Ketu* and *Vatarasana*; by his nails Vaikhanasa and by hairs *Balkhilya*. Taitteriya Arnayaka (2.7) also says: *Vatrasana* ha *va rshyah sramana urdhvamanthino vabhuvah" : Vatarsana* (those who wear wind) are those *Rshis* and *Sramanas* who are Urdhvareta (*Sayana* explains *urdhvamanthino as urdhvareta* i.e. one who practices complete celibacy *Indra* is referred as their freind. (See Ghurye 1964 [1953] 11-12, Shastri 1965 p. 7, Bhagat 1976 p. 11, Kane, *Hist of Dh.S.* Vol. II, part I, p. 419.

[12] Cf. Unadisutras, IV. 122 : man - in *uchcha manyate Janati iti munir Vasishthadih. Rg-sanhita,* vii. 56 8; Brh. up. iii. 5.1

[13] *Rg-sanhita*, x. 136. 2-3, (see Bhagat 1976 : 11). In *Rg. sanhita;* viii. 17.14, Indra is said to be : *Muninama Sakha* i.e. friend of *muni*.

[14] Br. Up. iv. 4.22 *Munati* in Pali means fathoming, recognising; knowing (ibid.)

[15] *Mund.* Up. iii. 2.6; *Baudh* DS., ii.10.17; Gaut. D.S., 111.2.11; Vas D.S., X.1; *Manu*, VI.11.54, 56, 69, 86(ibid). *Parivrajaka*(literally wandering about) denotes in the *Nirukta*(i.14;ii.8) a "mendicant monk", i.e. *sadhu*(Vedic Index, Macdonnell and Keith, p.497). Br. Up.(ii.4.1) shows that a *parivrajaka* had to leave home and wife and give up all his belongings.

[16] Stevenson as quoted in Bhagat, p.7.

[17] pp, 268-269, (ibid).

Yati

Yati in Sanskrit is derived from the root *yam*[18] and *yat* meaning - to restraint, to subdue, to control; to strive to exert oneself. *Yati* is one who has brought all his passions and feelings under restraint.[19] The term *yati* always means a *sannyasi* i.e. a person in last of the four *asramas*.[20] The word is also used synonymously to denote a muni, a *parivrajaka* and a *bhikshu*, all denoting the fourth stage of life.[21] The *Jaina sadhu is* often called the *yati*.[22]

During our *anvekshana* we discovered that *yati* is quite prevalent usage among *sadhus* undertaking *sannyasa* through *diksha* in *guruparmparya* i.e. *sampradaya*. There are specific texts like *Yati-dharma sangraha* and *Yati-dharma samuchchaya* dealing with rules and regulations for *sadhus* of *sampradayas*. We observed that *Dasnamis* as well as *Chatu-sampradayis* take pride in being referred as *yati*, which they meant as one who has complete control over *indriyas* (senses).[23] In *Chhanda-sastra*, a *vedanga*, *yati* is a term for *viramasthana* like coma, fullstop in grammar.[24]

During our *anvekshana* at *ardha-kumbha-mela*, at Prayaga, one learned *sadhu* of *Sri-sampradaya*, Swami Krishnacharyaji of *Vyasa Peetha*, Vrindavan while mentioning of the austere life of a *sadhu* told that deviance from *sannyasa* is highly sinful. He said that Indra

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[18] *Yama* is the first among the eight elements of *Ashtanaga-yoga* (i.e. eight fold *yoga*) (*Yoga-stutra*: II.29). See *Yoga sadhana*, Chapter IV.

[19] *Taitt.san.* iii,4,9.2; Sat. Br., vii. 1.4, xiii. 8-17; Mund.Up. iii.2.6; *Sanyasayogadyatayah.* Mand-vi.55-59; BG..25: *yatamanah: Yati minded.* Also see Bhagat, p.10 Ghurye, pp.14-15) *Atharva-veda*(2.5.3) mentions, Indra killing *Yatis* and *Aitreya Brahamana* mentions that Indra was ostracised for killing *muni*(Shastri 1965:5).

[20] *Taitt.San.*, vi.2.7.5, *Ait. Br.*, vii, 28.1; *Kau.* Up., iii.1; *Manu*,vi.87,96; *Vas.D.S.*, xi.34.(Bhagat, p.11).

[21] *Ap. D.S., II.9.21.1: mauna-atha parivrajah*; Vas DS., ii.6.7(ibid).

[22] Stevenson, *The Heart Of Jainasm*, p.233, (ibid).

[23] Ramanuja is called *yati-raj* (Prince of *yatis*) and *Yatindra*(king of *yatis*). There is a seventeenth century text by Srinivasacharya dealing with the *Visishtadvaidita darsana* of Ramanuja named *Yatindra-mata-dipika*. Khandade Prabhandha of Padmanabha informs that Yatis along with Jogis and Kapadis frequented the town of...(p.73).

[24] Varnekar, p.57.

in some place had said that he killed *yatis* chewing betel and did not incur any sin. Chewing betel is a deviance from the strictly austere life of a *yati*. He further informed us that he did not consider himself yet fit for the *sannyasa diksha* and is still a *naisthika brahmchari*. He mentioned Tridandi Swami following the *sannyasa* rules in all its strictness, whom we visited later.

Urdhvareta

The other qualification of the *vatrasana* as explained earlier is *urdhvamanthino*. Sayanacharya renders *urdvamanthin* as *urdhvaretas*, i.e. whose semen is drawn upwards. It is possible to take the expression to mean `one whose penis is erect and tumescent' (Ghurye 1964 [1953] : 13). It is a stage in *sadhana*, where a man's genital organ remains erect without any sexual sensation.[25] *Siva* is the classic example of *urdhvareta*, and *urdhvamanthin*. The worship of *Siva-linga* in the same state is a common feature.

Pandey in his study of *rsis* in ancient India through the analysis of *Mahabharat* notes that some *rsis* were *urdhvaretas* with neither wife nor children. For them the terms like *urdhvareta, ajivana brahmacharya, akhand brahmacharya, kaumara brahmcharya* have been used.[26] Mention of such *urdhvareta brahmacharis* is made, who did not even think of

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[25] D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the fact that *Siva* in the form *Lakulisa*, which form is the tutelary diety of the *Pasupat sampradaya*, is portrayed `with his organ upraised'. Among the numerous names of *Siva* ocuring in *Mahabharat*(XII,7,46), one is *Urthvalinga*-one with upraised genital organ. He notes that this representation of *Siva* is, almost without exception, to be met with in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa until the 13th century A.D. Still the worship of *Linga* in *Urdhva*(upraised) position is one of the most common features, reffered as *Siva-linga*. A.D. Bhandarkar points out that in a passage of *Panchavinsa-Brahaman*, one class of *vratyas* is designated *Samnichamedhra*, those whose *medhra* (genital organ) hangs low through control of passion'. In contrast with this expression would stand the expression `*Urdhva-medhra'*. Bhandarkar finds the representation of *urdhva-medhra* god in one of the seal-amulets discovered at *Mohanjodaro*. He observes about it: "The god shown on the seal illustrated in plate XII.17 is doubtless a prototype of the histroric' *Siva*, because he is three faced, seated in an attitude of yoga, and with *urdhvamedhra* clearly exhibited". Ghurye on the basis of one class of *vratyas*, as reposing genital organ with almost common representation of *Siva* in eastern India with tumscent one, observes: "The description of *vatrasana* sages as `*urdhvamanthino'* refers to their character achivement of keeping their penis tumescent without agitation or excitement." pp. 13-14 also see Chakroborti 1973, pp. 7-9.

[26] *Adi Parva 65.16, Shalya Parva 51.8, 49.4, Adi Parva* 54.4 respectively of *Mahabharat*.

women.[27] There is an account that among eight thousand and fifty rsis who went to see *Brahma*, eighty-eight thousand were *urdhvaretas* while the remaining fifty were progeny seekers.[28] Sukadeva is mentioned to be following the path of *mokska* from very early age and was never interested in family life.[29] Manikanaka was respected to be a 'strict celibate'.[30]

Swami Muktananda mentions regarding an experience during his *sadhana*. Before attaining the state of *urdvareta*, he experienced a severe onslaught of strong sexual desire, which he interprets as following:

> Now I understood that the onset of sexual desire was connected with the process of becoming an *urdhvareta* from which one gets power to give *saktipata*. When *svadhishthana chakra* is pierced, sexual desire becomes very strong, but this happens so that the flow of sexual fluid may be turned upward and *sadhaka's* lust is destroyed forever.[31]

During our *anvekshana*, we found that overpowering, the power of sex, is one of the most powerful passions among majority of the *sadhus*. Attaining the state of *urdhvareta*, has led to several practices, from mutilation of genital organ to piercing it through iron chains or tying it with iron cups or chains rolling it over iron rod. We were informed that this can be done only by *urdhvareta sadhus* and not by ordinary ones. Hartsuicker provides some excellent photographs of such *sadhus*.[32] Under a particular *sadhana*, we were informed by a *sadhu*, if one holds one's semen for twelve years in continuity, one attains extraordinary

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[27] *Adi Parva* 36.1.

[28] *Ashtasiti sahastrani yatinamudhvaretasam prajvatam cha panchasatdshinamapi Pandava. Sabda Parva* 11.34.

[29] *Na vyasva budhirasrameshu naradhipa trishu garhusthyamuleshu mokshaharnidasinaih Santi Parva* 311.27.

[30] *Shalya Parva, 37.29. Dushyanta* on seeing *Sakuntala*, near the asrama of *Kanva rshi*, thought about her identity, that it is not possible for her to see the daughter of *urdhvareta Kanva.*

[31] Swami Muktananda; *Play of Consciousness*, p. 99. For *svadhishthana chakra*, see *Yoga under Sadhana* in chapter IV.

[32] See, Sadhus : *The Holy Men of India* by Hartsuicker.

siddhis in *Tantra* sadhana.

Urdhvareta is one whose semen is drawn upward whether with *urdhvamanthino*, *urdhramedhra* or *urdhvalinga*, i.e. upraised genital organ without the passion of sex or *samnuchamedhra* i.e. hanging low of the genital organ through control of sexual passion. In either of the cases, *urdhvareta* is one whose semen is drawn upward and has pierced *svaidhishthana chakra*[33] to flow through various *nadis*. The state can be achieved through *Yogic kriyas*.

During our *anvekshana*, we were told by that there are *sadhus*, who do not undergo such *kirya* (process) and attain the state of *urdhvareta* naturally and easily with either by the power of their *sanskaras* [34] of the previous birth or by the grace of guru through *saktipata*.[35]

Tapas

Tapas is one who practices *tapas*(from *tap*, to be heated, to burn, hence austerity).[36] He is the one who is habituated to austerities: *tapah silamaya*.[37] He is also called *tapasvin tapasvibhyo adhiko yogi*.[38] *Manu* (vi.27): *Tapasesheva vipreshu yatrikam bhaikshamaharet.*

Literally *Arana* is one who is living in a forest, wild, forest dweller, an anchorite[39]. A part of the *Brahmana* literature is distinguished by the name of *Aranayaka. Brahmacharis*, who wanted to continue as such without marrying, in pursuit of knowledge, were called *Arana*

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[33] See, *Yoga-sadhana*, ch-IV.

[34] See ibid.

[35] See *Guruparamparya* in Chapter V.

[36] Av.,xiii.2.25; Brh.Up. iv.3.22; Sankh.Br.,xiv.6,8,10; (as in Bhagat) Also *Tapsi* and Tapasvi.

[37] *Sabdakalpadrum: tapo syastiti tapoyuktah tapasah cf. tapati tapate ayam atmanenpadinyane*, p.587.(ibid.)

[38] BG.,VI.46;AV.,XIII.2.25 (ibid)

[39] Apte, *A Pratical Sanskrit-English Dictionary.* Also aranamanas and *aranyavasi.*

as or *Aranamana*. These Aranas lived in hermitages in the forest outside the village or centres of population. The forests where these *Arana sadhus* lived were called *Aranayas*.

Sramana

In literal terms *sramana* means making effort or exertion, toiling, labouring, one who "performs acts of mortification or austerity"[40]. In *Jaina* and *Bauddha* literature, the terms, *sramana-brahmana* come together and they signify person of character and wisdom. *Sramana* is mentioned in the inscriptions of Ashok. Megasthene writes--those *sramanas* who are highly respected are called *vanaprastha*. They lived in forests on leaves and flowers. Used to wear *vakkala* and did not touch women and wine. In *Brhdaranyaka Upanishad*, *sramana* has come alongwith *tapas* (iv.3.22). Sankracharya explains *sramana* as *parivrajaka* and *tapas* as *Vanprastha*. ((Shastri 1965:57). The passage describes the nature of high stage of perfection. It is a state in which a theif becomes a non-thief, a *chandala* becomes a non *chandala*, a *sramana* a non-*sramana*, a *tapasa* a non *tapasa* and so on. Sayanacharya also explains the world *sramana* in this passage to mean *parivrajak*, that is one who has entered the fourth of the four regular *asramas'* and *tapas* as *vanprastha*, the third of the four *asramas* (Ghurye 1964 [1953] :12-13). *Sramana* is also mentioned in *Taittriya Aranyaka* (2.7): *Vatrasana ha va rsyah sramana urdhvamanthino vabuh : Rsis* wearing wind were *urdhvareta sramanas*. Ghurye observes:

> The "latter *upanishads*, were the *asrama* theory" is given, the term's *sramana* is conspicuous by its absence. After Buddha, "it came to be monopolised by the Buddhist so that the compound expression *sramana Brahmana* became the current one to denote the two opposing religious systems of the Buddhists and

[40] Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

the Brahmans. D.R.Bhandarkar's failure to take into account these early passages where the word *sramana* occurs has led him to the wrong conclusion that the *sramanas* `were an un-*brahminical* non *vedic* sect of recluses'"(p.53)

Sramana-brahamana or *brahmana-sramana* denote any person who by "renunciation *of* the world" and saintlines, becomes a respectful teacher.[41] Such a person may be called a *Brahmana.* This meaning of *Brahmana* is found in *Brhdaranyaka Upanishad* (111:5) Buddha explains *Brahamana* in the same sense, according to him *sramana* and *brahmana* are names of person who in the Buddhist sense have the true knowledge [42] (Masih : 247)

Sastric Paksha

Sastric paksha includes *Dharmasastras* and texts written in its tradition. It is beyond the scope of the present study to provide even a brief survey of *sastric paksha.* We are just providing a birds eye view. *Yajnvalkaya-smrti* first on *snatakavrata prakarana* in first chapter, *yati prakarana*, the fourth *prakarana* and *vanaprastha prakarana*, the third *prakarana* of the third chapter are pertaining to duties and *dharma sadhus Atri-smrti* explains six types of *Bhikshu. Vishnu-smrti* (third and fourth chapter); *Harita-smrti* (fifth and sixth chapter); *Sanivarta-smrti*; *Vyasa-smrti; Sankha-smrti* (third, sixth and seventh chapter); *Daksha-smrti; Gautama-smrti; Vasishtha-smrti* (seventh, ninth, tenth and eleventh chapter); *Smrtikaustubha,* etc. also deal with the dharma of *brahmachari; naishthika brahmachari, vanaprashtha* and *sannyasi*[43].

There are several *upanishads* dealing with the subject under scrutiny. Some of them are: *Aruni, Laghu-sannyasa, Kundika, Kathasruti, Paramhansa, Jabala, Brahma, Asrama,*

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[41] *Rhys Davids; Sakya* or *Buddhist* origins pp. 165. 166; vide Maxmuller; *Six systems of Indian Philosophy,* Longman, 1928 pp. 16-17 (As quoted in *Yakub Masih*).

[42] Rahul Sanskratayana states that `*Brahamana'* meant a self-controlled *Muni* and did not mean "upper caste in *Jainism* and *Budhism*"(*Sutrakrtanga Sutra*, p.9(Hindi Tr.): vide T.W. *Rhys Davids, Dialogues of Buddha,* Introduction, p.165.

[43] These terms have been explained subsequently.

Maitreya, Naradoparivrajaka, Nirvana, Bhikshuka, Turiyatittavadhuta, Brhat-sannyasa, Paramhansa- parivrajaka, Parabrahma, Brhad-avadhuta, Satyayana, Laghu-avadhuta etc..

Apart from this *Yatidharmasamuchchaya* and *Yatidharmasangraha* are "medieval texts" written in *sastric parampara* dealing with the dharma of sadhus. We have included various aspects of the *sastric parampara* in our study. *Manava Dharmasastra* lays down detailed explanation of the *sannyasa asrama. Jabala-upanishad* is a specific *upanishad* for *sannyasis*. The *sannyasa diksha* pattern mentioned their if followed by *Dasnami sampradaya. Sannyasa upanishad* and *Bikshu upanishad* are other such important texts. Ramanathan (1978) *Sannyasa Upanishads* follows the Dikshit's edition of the version commented upon by Upanishad Brahmayogin and deals with the *sastric paksha* of the concept and notion of *vairagya* and *sannyasa.*

Sanhitas, Brahmans, Aranyakas, Upanishads, Dharmasutras and *Dharmasastras, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Purana,* Kautilya's *Arthasastra, Panchtantra, Somadevas, Kathasarit-sagara, Hitopadesa,* Bhartrhari's *Vairagya-Satakatrayama,* etc. make specific reference to *sadhus*, *sannyasa* and *sampradyas* in various forms.

Vaikhanasdharmaprasna and *Vaikhanasasmarta-sutra* deal with the above mentioned subject in detail. *Vaikhanasa-sutra* and *Bhikshu-sutra (*attributed to Panini) have been lost. *Sannyas Upanishad* and *Bhikshu Upanishad* are some of the other important texts related to the subject.

Sociological and Anthropological *Paksha*

The literature falling under this *paksha* deals mainly with "renunciation" and

"asceticism" based on "field study" and "ethnographic" *samagri.* Most of the studies under this *paksha* look at *sampradayas* and *sannyasa* as "safety valve" which provided the balancing mechanism against the "rigid hirarchic caste system". Thoothi (1935) observes:

> But such is the instinctive adaptability of human society, that it manages to preserve itself in a posionous atmoshpere by means of certain safety valves. The ways of escape were provided in the direction of *mata* and its repeatedly new interpretations in the *sampradayas*.These have been the channels through which progress (whatever it be) has been made; internal reorganisation has taken place; and these promise to serve in future even the same useful purposes. For by a change of faith of *sampradaya*, an individual or a family or a whole *gnyati* have opportunities and acquire the power, to live up to their convictions even to develop new tendencies, to work out their own salvation in a way their old faith denied them. In fact, the *samparadaya* aspect, providing a much needed safety valve has proved the greatest support and stabiliser, of *Vaishnavite* society in the past (p. 367).

Thoothi's aim was to study and understand the "various aspects of human problem, and discover and formulate or may be rediscover and reformulate, the scheme of values that may become the basis of a more equitable and stable human order." Nirmal Kumar Bose (1951)) observed that the "*sannyasa* order" provided "a safety value" of "individual liberty" against "rigid hierarchic caste system." Ghurye (1953) basing his study on scondary sources for providing a general survey of Indian *sadhus* mainly of *Dasnami,* some *Vaishnavas* and *Nathas,* provides his own conception:

> Asceticism is a whole complex of traits whose main content is formed by some kind of bodily mortification, religious decipline and withdrawal from life both mentally and physically. Its essence lies in possibility as contrasted with activity, and renunciation as opposed to absorption worldly life (p.1).

Amazed at the growing popularity of *Madhava-Gaudiya sampradaya* and Ram Krishna Mission about the beginning of the 20th century alongwith invariable lamenting by "the *mahantas* of every sects regarding the progressive decrease in recruitment to their ranks",

Ghurye makes an important observation regarding "ascetic temprament" which plays a crucial role in the notion and concept of *sannyasa* and *vairagya*[44]. Ghurye observes:

> This in itself should indicate that it is not so much the urge to asceticism which in itself that has waned but that the nature of ideals to achieve through asceticism has changed. The older sects with their more or less ancient ideals are not able to adequately tap the resources of ascetic temperament in the population. This indication becomes almost a scientific conclusion when consider the phenomenal growth and tremendous success of Ram Krishna Mission almost a new sect (p. 233).

Ghurye's observations are a clear departure from the "safety-valve" theory and enter into the theory of "renunciant-worldly" dichotomous relationship. Dumont (1960) weaves "safety-valve" and "renunciant worldly" theories to consider the very emergence of "Hinduism in the dialogue between the renouncer and the man in the world" (p.37). Dumont posits that there is a "dialectic relationship between renunciation and the system of caste" which holds the "whole equilibrium" and contends that "it may be doubted whether the caste system could have existed and endured independently of its contradictory renunciation" (1970:186).

Tripathi (1976) commenting on the available literature dealing with the different aspects of the "institution of *sadhuism*" by Indian and Western scholars and that on *sadhus* in Hindi, English and Sanskrit, sets his own angle of vision. He considers his study to be different from others in the following respects:

> 1.It treats *sadhus* of all sects and orders as constituting a distinct collective unit.
>
> 2.It is concerned with trends of continuity and change in the institution of *sadhuism*.
>
> 3.Apart from exploring the structure and function of the community of *sadhus*, it depicts the actual life of *sadhus* i.e. how they live, act and think in the present times (pp. vii-viii).

[44] To be explained in fifth chapter.

Tripathi has based his study of Sa*dhus of India* on field work done in Uttar-Pradesh. He has dealt in the "beliefs and practices" with emphasis on on "ritual dimension".

Sinha and Saraswati (1978) while studying the *Ascetics if Kashi* follow Bose's theoretical position.They attempted in their study a concrete survey of the *sadhus* belonging to the various *sampradayas* living in different kinds of "monastic organizations" at Kashi (Varanasi). Sihna and Saraswati observe:

> This preliminary enquiry leaves us with feeling of admiration about the organizational and cultural skills and strength of the traditional self-regulating ascetic orders which have shown remarkable adaptive resilience through the centuries. We are convinced that a proper understanding of the sources of strength of Indian civilization will have to be based on deep probing into the complementary rules of the world of ascetics and that of the laity guided by the *varna-jati* rules (ix-x).

Miller's (1976) monograph deals with "Monks and Monastries of Bhubneshwar". Burghart (1983) tried to annalyse "the *Brahmana* householder's construction of asceticism" to demonstrate its "partiality" as a basis of anthropological investigation and then annalyse "renunciation" from "the ascetic point of view." The attempt has been made to understand the way in which "the ascetic translates his temporal pre-occupations in social terms and the application of such translation for the ascetic's relations with non-ascetics with the other ascetics of his sect, and with the ascetics of the other sects" (p.635). Burgart's study is based on the *anvekshana samagri* on the *Ramanandi sampradaya* of *Vaishnava achara*. Through that he has reached to generalisations on "renunication" in the entire South Asia.

Babb (1987) tries to investigate the forms taken by "Hindu tradition in modern-urban environments". The study is based on three "religious movements" of the *Radhaswami,*

Brahma Kumari and *Satya Sai Baba* with "new patterns of *sadhuism*". Through these three examples the study traces "the threads of certain shared concepts, ideas about the composition, perceptions, interactions, destinies and most of all identities of selves entangled in a world of ceaseless historical flux". Babb traces the commonality between these three "belief systems" as "profoundly Hindu." It also suggests links between "the minor Hindu world and universals of human experience."

Madan (1987) analyses the "themes and interpretations of Hindu culture" through the concept of non-renunciation. He observes:

> It may be pointed out that, though my discussion of the ideology of the house holder is based on my studies of the *brahmans* of the Kashmir Valley, there is , as already stated ample evidence in indological and ethnographical literatures of the life of the householder being the most highly valued in Hindu society. To present but one more evidence here, we find that many of the major protestant sectarrian movements of medieval times, which count their followers in millions today emphaiszed the virtues of desciplined domestecity as against renunciation (p.9).

Monika-theil Horstmann (1989) while studying "Bhakti and Monasticism" observes, "Indian religion had its strongest and most authentic spokesman in its sannyasis, its renouncers" (p.127). Sonthimer (1989) finds "asceticism and renunciation" as one of the major components of Hinduism" out of five postulated: 1) The work and the teachings of the *Brahmanas*; 2) Asceticism and renunciation; 3) Tribal religion; 4) Folk religion and 5) *Bhakti*.

Tripathi (1990) foussing on the "world of sadhus" deals with new sadhu organisations and movements like *Anand Moyee Ma, Ananda Marga*, etc. Gross (1992) influenced by Dumont's ideas as well as by Turner's (1969 : 197) concepts of `liminality' and `anti-structure' observes:

> My theoretical approach in this study of *sadhus* has been largely directed towards unravelling the social threads of the dialectic relatioships existing between other

worldly asceticism and caste system" (p. 2).

Gross proposed to make:

> 1) an ethnographic study of *sadhus*; 2) analyse their lifestyle in terms of viable alternative adaptive strategy to life in the rigid hierarchically stratified caste system; 3) examine the inner sacred domain of ascetic religious beliefs, rituals, symbolism and 4) present life history case materials on individual *sadhus* in an effort to reveal the underlying motivations for renunciation in Indian society .

Van der Veer tries to provide an "interpretive description of the way religious specialists monks and priests live and the institutions that tie them together". The work intends "to analyse the main forces that mould religious identity and experience". The identity formation and the shaping of the religious experience is shown to be heavily influenced by political process among the "religious specialists--the *Ramanadi* monks and the *brahmana* priest" at Ayodhya. The "priests and monks" are depicted as political actors who articulate, underplay or stress "their identities depedning on how they perceive conditions in local arena". Van der Veer makes one important observation which opposes the Dumont's understanding:

> The social origin of a renouncer is never unimportant for his status among other *sadhus* and a renouncer is never a man outside the world, since his religious and economic transactions bind him to the process of identity formation of *Ramanandi sadhus*, but the other tendency is that of sedentrization.

> The social origin of the *sadhu* tends to play a larger role in a settled life among householders than in a peripatetic life. One of my arguments will be that of the process of sedentrization among the *Ramanandi sadhus*, which is a correlate of the loss of functional autonomy of *sadhus* in Indian society, brings about a relatively stronger emphasis on social origin in the determination of *sadhus* status (p.xiii).

Mehta (1993) studies individual *sadhus* whom he calls "modern Godman." Rajneesh and Sri La Prabhupad of Isckon fame are focussed. Srivastava (1997) while studying the

"religious renunciation" of a "pastoral people" traces a close relationship between the `mode of livlihood' of the "pastoral" *Raikas* (also known as *Rataris*) of Rajasthan, and the tendency towards "religious renunciation" among them. Srivastava argues:

> though it deals with their religious universe, this study does not argue that `*Raika* religion is encapsulated, and thus different from that practised by other communities. The worship of various deities cuts across caste/tribal boundaries, as do the myths associated with them. However, each community in a plural world picks up elements from the repertoire of cultural complex and assimilates them after some modification if needeed, into its lifestyle; and this process can be fully understood in historical terms. (p.vi).

Dalmia (1995) uses the category *Sampradaya* to mean "sectarianism" in the general sense of *Vaishnava, `Saiva, `Sakta*, etc. without any attempt to explain what *sampradaya* is. *Achara* is used by her in the sense of social observation and ritual functions (p.182). She defines *sampradaya* as having two main aspects "the emphasis of *seva*, or the elaborate ritual of serving adoring and caring for the comfort of deity and the various expressions of personal devotion or *bhakti* for lord" (ibid).

Venugopal (1998) provides a sociological perspective to the "Role of Asetcis in nation building." Sharma (1998) has attempted to study the "*Sadhus* and Indian Civilization" through V*aishnava sadhus* of *Ramanandi sampradaya* at Ayodhya. Sharma attempts to deal with *Vaishanava achara*, life of sadhu and their organization Sharma observes:

> To conclude, it should be emphasised on the basis of the present study made at Ayodhya that the ascetics and their organizations are still at vanguard of Indian civilization. They are doing good to the greatest number and in this way helping a healthy social growth. It can also be added that if the ascetics and ascetic organizations at present work in a traditional manner, they can be saved from external evil enteries and they will surely provide a relief to the ailing humanity (p.175).

Shah (1999) provides biographical sketch of individual *sadhus* from Maharshi Vyasa to Sant Gudidi Baba.

Indological Oriental *Paksha*

The indological oriental *paksha* has been ignored here as it did not provide any significant inputs. Barrow (1882) and Balfour (1887) have tried to comprehend the world of Aghoris known for their exteremist *sadhana*. Wilson (1861) and D.A. Pai (1928) had tried to work out a classification of "Hindu sectarianism". Bhandarkar (1913) provides an exposition of "*Vaishhnavism, Saivism* and the Minor Religious Systems". Woodroffe (1918) has given the theoretical expositions of *Sakta* "beliefs" ' Farquhar (1925) has delved into the world of `militant' *sadhus*. Briggs (1938) observes:

> There stands out in `asceticism' as a whole that which the *Yogi* emphasizes in particular-the great seeker after truth reality, with the supreme experience of the `religious life.' And in the pursuit of this end, he exhibits both courage and persistence. Nowhere else in the world have men been found who have endured more in the way of physical pain or who have carried *tapas* through so long a discipline (p. 35).

Briggs studied *Kanphata Yogis* or *Natha panthis*.

Oman (1903) made an attempt to reach at an understanding of `*sadhuism*. ' He finds "*sadhuism'* and `industrialism as antagonistic processes:

> By no means enamoured by Indian *sadhuism*, I feel at the same time no particular admiration for the industrialism of Europe and America, with its vulgar aggressiveness, its eternal competition, and its sordid, unscrupulous, unremmiting and cruel struggle for wealth do the supreme object of human effort (p. 282).

Oman through survey of "legendary' stories of ancient texts has reached to his notion of `*sadhuim'* essentially based on *tapas*. Renou (1961) observes:

> If we are to look for a global characterization of Hinduism, we could (as was recenlly suggested) consider it the very type of religion of renunciation. Certainly Hinduism can exist without those who renounce but it would remain singularly impoverished and would be as if deprived of its crest (p.19).

Commenting on Indological-Oriental *paksha* Dayakrishna observes:

> The interest of western Indological studies combined with the search for a spiritual self- identity in the face of overwhelming western superiorty in all the fields of knowldge seemed to have led to the creation of certain picture of India's philosophical past which has become fixed in the minds of successive generations of students and teachers, both in India and abroad, through innumerable text-books whicn render it almost impossible to question the picture or build a different one (vii).

Historical *Paksha.*

The study of *sampradayas* exist in the form of "Hindu sectarianism" here as well. These studies fail to uncover the basic reasons behind their rise most of them tend to overlap *sampradayas, achara, pantha, marga, mata*, etc. Chattopadhyaya (1970) arrives at "following facts" in tracing the "germ of sectariansm"[45]:

(a) The germ of sectarianism may be traced in the later *vedic* literature, i.e. it originated in *aryan* environment.

(b) Sectarian Hinduism had *bhakti* as its basis but got an additional impetus through the spirit of hero-worship e.g. the worship of *Vasudeva*, etc.

Historical *pramanas* trace the origin of *Sadhutva* in the Sindhu Saraswati civilization. The seal illustrated in Plate XII, 17 is referred to by Marshal (1931) as a `proto *Siva'*. Bhandarkar (1940) accepting the view adds "The god shown on illustrated in Plate XII, 17 is doubtless a prototype of the historical *Siva*, because he is three faced, seated in an attitude of *Yoga* and with *urdhva-medhra* clearly exhibited. Chakraborti ((1973) testifies the same, "this seal suggests that `*Siva* in Mahanjodaro is the prince of *Yogins*, the typical asectic and self mortifier".

Sharma (1939) ; Shastri (1965) Chattopadhayaya; (1970) Chakraborty (1973); and

[45] Chattopadhyaya "traces sectarianism with reference to Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* where *bhaktas of Vasudeva and Arjuna* are mentioned.

Bhagat (1974) have made contribution in the field of "ancient Indian asceticism". Chattopadhyaya provides the historical sketch of the evolution of "Hindu sects upto the time of 'Sankracharya". Bhagat traces that "ascetcism as socio--religious institution was a barometer of social change and needs of India" (p. 61). For Bhagat the concept of Indian asceticism had four dimensions *tapas, vairagya, sannyasa* and *yoga.*

Sarkar (1950) has attempted a historical survey of *Dasnami nagas.* Sarkar's work produces a sketch of the *Dasnami's* based on manuscripts of *Nirvani akhara*: Sarkar observes:

> A Hindi manuscript has been found in the possession of the hereditary bard (*bhata*) of the *Nirvani akhara*, which professes to give the dates of the foundation of different *Akharas* and some of the battles they fought with name of the horses. This book merely gives the story as preserved by tradition from mouth to mouth among this family of bards, and the present manuscript (*pothi*)... represents the tradition current among the bards of only one *akhara*, namely th e *Nirvani*, and therefore it can be argued that if any other *akhara* had poets of their own, they might have told different tale (pp.82-83).

The *naga sadhus* were called by the Greeks *Gymno-sophists*, which literally means "naked philosophers", They are described by Arrian in his *Indika*:

> The philosophers (i.e. *Brahmana*) from the caste most esteemed in reputation and dignity. No necessity is incumbent upon them to do any bodily labour,...nor have they any compulsory duty except to offer sacrifices to the gods on behalf of the common wealth of India : These philosophers pass their life naked; in the winter, in the sun under the open sky, but in the summer when the sun holds sway, they that live in the meadows and in the marshes under the great trees". (*Indika*, Chinnock's trans. pp.411-412)[46]

Joshi (1965) tracing the "origin and development of *Dattatreya* worship", where he discusses the questions of "Indian Trinity" from "all its aspects" as is seen in the "idea of trinity developed fully" into the form of *Dattatreya*. The study attempts to deal with the

[46] vide Sarkar, p.118.

activities of the followers of the *mata*. It helps in understanding the *sadhu* temperament, as *Dattatreya* is considered to be among the greats of *sadhus*. *Dattatereya* is also the tutelary diety of *Juna akhara*.

Chakraborti (1973) professes to present in separate sections "picture of asceticism" as "believed to be practised" in "different societies, *Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina, Ajivaka*" from the earliest times to the period of `Sankracharya'. Bhagat is critical of "the interpretation of asceticism in terms of theology and philosophy alone" which according to him has led to the "misrepresentation of this universal phenomenon". Bhagat opines that the subject demands "an insight into the psychology of religious phenomenon with reference to the conditions that presented and accompanied them". Bhagat attempts "to scientific investigation" to reveal "a neglected chapter in India's social history with a special emphasis on the genesis of asceticism".

Heesterman (1966) sees the emergence of "renunciation" not "as a protest against *brahminical* orthodoxy" but as the "orthogenetic internal development of *vedic* thought," the final and logical outcome of the "internal maturation" of the "*vedic* sacrificial theology" that sought ultimate autonomy and transcendence (p.24).

Patrick Olivelle in Renunciation in Hinduism two volumes (1986-87) deals with the medeival debate over *snnyasa* and *vairagya*. *Sannyasa Upanishads*: *Hindu scriptures on Ascetecism and Renunciation* (1992) has tried to work out a comprehensive view of *sastric paksha* of *sannyasa* and *vairagya*. *Asrama* system: *The History and Hermeneutics of a Religious Institution* (1993) is an attempt to locate the history of the *asrama* system within the history of "*Brahminical* hermencuties" (*mimansa*). Olivelle observes:

The *asrama* system was created as a structure for inclusion-for finding a place within

the *Brahminical* world to ideologies and ways of life that challenged many of the central doctrines and values of that world. The classical system in a special way was intended to blunt the opposition between the two value systems one surrounded the married and the other around the celibate ascetic. The success of the scheme in resolving that basic conflict in Indian culture has been taken forgranted by many scholars. I hope to demonstrate that a closer examination of the history of the system will show that the issue was never fully settled and that the old battles had to be fought over and over again throughout the middle ages and down to modern times even often the *asrama* had become part of the mainstream *Brahminical* theology (p.4).

Pandey (1969) in *Hindu Sanskaras* has as per himself treated only those *Smarta sanskaras* which were performed at "the various epochs in the the life of an individual from conception to cremotarium. Their theater was the home their chief actor the householder and the presiding deity the domestic Fire". The *sanskaras* play an important role in the life of a *sadhu* and Pandey's treatment of the subject is not of any help as it deals only with the *sanskaras* of *grhasthas*.

Darsan Paksha

Darsana paksha provided us with the methodological framework. *Darsanas* are encyclopaedic in nature and hence we have not done any survey of their literature here. Some of the texts based on the studies of *darsana* that exist in the name of "Indian philosophy" provided us with the inputs in evolving the methodology in which *Nyaya* or *Anvikshiki* and *pramanas*[47] are of foremost importance. We here have a birds eye view of some of the literature on *pramana* from the point view of basic undertanding. Dasgupta (1922, 1940, 1949) while writing the magnum opus-*History of Indian Philosophy* (HIP) has dealt with *pramanas* in a passing way while discussing various *darsanas* successively. *Pramanas* as a

[47] Literally evidence, for proper explanation, see Chapter III.

separate comprehensive work is missing. Vidyabhushan (1920) provides a comprehensive picture important from the point of view of basic understanding and atempts a history of *Nyaya, Shatdarsana Nyaya, Baudha Nyaya, Jaina Nyaya, Navya Nyaya*, etc. alongwith *Anvikshiki. Vaiseshika-Nyaya* too has been covered. The work is too general but helps in having a comprehensive picture. Bhatt (1962) in *The Basic ways of Knowing* attempts an "in-depth study of Kumarila's contribution of Indian epistemology" and is helpful in "undertanding the epistemelogy" of other *darsanas* as well He observes:

> The logic of Nyaya, the categories of Vaiseshika, the cosmology of *Sankhya* the metaphysics of *Advaita Vedanta*, the ethics of the *Gita* are outstanding contributions that India made to philosophical thought and the epistemelogy of Kumarila ranks with them (xix).

The work can be seen as that of *Mimansa-Nyaya.*

Mohanty (1992) attempts to "isolate the distinctive features, if any, of Indian philosophy, especially as compared with western philosophy". In the process he examines the concepts of consciousness and subjectivity, and the theories of meaning and truth, and explicates the concept of theoretical rationality which underlies the Indian philosophies. These remarks on the *pramana* theory are a contribution in the direction of exploration of *pramana sastra*. He deals with the primacy of *pratyaksha-pramana* and its relationship with *Chitta*. He makes an insightful exposition of *`sabda pramana'*.

Matilal makes a meaningful contribution in the study of *pramana sastra*. Perception (1986) presents *nyaya* realism and Buddhist phenomenalism in their historical context. An attempt has also been made to show:

> (i) what place "Buddhist phenomenalism occupies in the whole range of much philosophical view as `sense data' theory, `scientific phenomenalism' and `representationalism', and (ii) whether argument in favour of *nyaya* realism

could counter balance such views. The dispute that lasted a little over twelve centuries between the *Nyaya* and the Buddhist over the nature of perception, the critique and criteria of knowledge, and the status of the external world, has been covered in this work. The reconstruction of the *nyaya* arguments meets not only traditional Buddhist objections but also those of "modern sense-data representationalists".

In *The Character of Indian Logic* (1998) Matilal has attempted to look beyond Vidyabhushan (1920). *Nyaya-Sastra, Baudha-nyaya* (Dinnaga & Dharmakirti), *Jaina nyaya* and *Navya-Nyaya* have been dealt in this work to illustrate the "character of Indian logic", work is brief and comprehensive. Although Matilal is sensitive to the use of *pramana* methodology, his work elaborates on it, providing a comprehensive picture of *pramana* methodology as discussed in various *darsanas*, but it is yet far from a thorough work on *pramana* in particular and *Nyaya* in general.

Some of the other texts which we made use of in understanding *sadhu* and *sampradaya* not covered by above *pakshas* were biographies and auto biographies of *sadhus*. Paramhansa Yogananda's. *An Autobiography of a Yogi* and Swami Muktananda's *Chit sakti-vilasa* (*Play of consciousness in English*) were useful. The works by sadhus themselves like *The Secret of the Sidhas* by Swami Muktunanda's . *Sannyasa-Tantra* of Swami Satyananda Saraswati and Swami Chandrasekharendra Sarswati's, *Guru Tradition* were very useful. *Sannyasa Tantra* attempts to locate sannyasa in contemporary cotext and *Guru Tradition* provides an insight in to the institution of *Guru-prramparya*. Paul Brunton's, *A Search in Secret India*; Keyserling's, *A Travel Diary of a Philosopher*; Bhavani Prasad Verma's, *Chitralekha* and R.K. Narayan's, *The Guide* have dealt with the subject in some way. Vachaspati Gairola's *Bhartiya Dharma Sakha*; Prabhudayal Meetal's *Braja Ke Dharma-samparadaya ka Iitihasa*; Hajari Prasad Dvivedi's, *Natha sampradaya* and a few other Hindi

texts were of considerable use.

The brief overview of anthropological sociological paksha, Indological oriental *paksha* and historical paksha, apart from what has been explained in the introductory chapter reveal that these studies fail to analyze that *achara* is merely a constituent of mata alongwith *darsana* and sadhana. Thus mata alongwith *guruparampara* becomes *sampradaya*. Hence these studies reveal only part of that what they intend to do due to lack of the understanding of the concept and structurative process of *sampradaya*. Being *achara* based they try to trace historically the beginning of worship of various deities e.g. *Siva, Vishnu* and others, on the basis of the same they annalyse the consequent developments and enlist various *sampradayas*, alongwith *panthas* and *margas*, all under the common epithet i.e. "Hindu sectarianism" Hence for most of them the product of this "deity based sectarianism" is *sampradaya*, *mata*, and forms of *sadhana*. Bhandarkar uses the term "religious systems" to provide broader explanation, but does not look beyond the *achara* as genesis point. Scholars like Dumont too have not been able to comprehend the phenomenon of *sampradaya* . He observes:

> The Indian sect is a religious grouping constituted primarily by renouncers, initiates of the same discipline of salvation, and secondarily by their lay sympathisers many of whom may have one of the renouncers as a spiritual master or *guru*. Taking the word in its widest sense, one may include Buddhism and Jainism among the sects[48].

The studies cannot be called as *achara* based also in the true sense of the word. Because *achara* is the entire way of life of a particular following which may be a *sampradaya. Achara* includes in them *sanskaras* and worship of a diety is just a part of it. What has been done for the sake of convenience by the scholars including that of *parampara*,

[48] Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus, p.187.

that they divided this broadly on the lines of deity worship viz. *Vishnu, Siva, Shakti, Surya* and *Ganesha.*

Another dimension reflected is the penchant for search of 'hierarchy' among the 'sociologists', 'indologists' 'orientalists', 'anthropologists', etc. that it was even searched in the concepts like *dharma, pantha, marga* and *sampradaya*. Sinha and Saraswati's observation in this regard is an illustration:

> Notwithstanding their semantic niceties and distinctions these terms (i.e.*dharma, pantha, marga* and *sampradaya*) are loosely applied by the adherents of various faiths among the Hindus. Arranged in a hierarchical order of importance the term *dharma* gets the pride of place overtopping all others, *sampradaya* is placed second, and *pantha* and *marga* are at the bottom. Thus, these terms are not synonymous but categories. The value attached to each of these categories seems to be determined by : (a) its antiquity, (b) its coverage in cosmology, the philosophy of Universe (c) its range of moral and ethical doctrines (d) its qualitative achievement in drawing the believers and (e) the source of origin. For instance in two reformist movements in Hinduism, namely the one led by the Buddha and another by Kabir the former is called *Baudha dharma* and latter *Kabir pantha (*1978:35-36).

What these conceptions of the categories mentioned lack is the proper understanding of their usage in context of *sastric paksha*. This becomes important because the usage of these categories and their meaning during our *anvekshana* revealed that it varied from *sampradaya* to *sampradaya* and that is true for other categories as well. Hence what is important is first to enumerate the contexts of the categories of their usage in *sastric paksha* as well as *anvekshika paksha.*

During our *anvekshana* we found that in absence of the proper understanding of the contexts and the various usages, the studies so far come out with sweeping generalisations on the basis of a prior notions. We could not locate the hierarchy of the usage of these categories. Antiquity of *sampradaya, pantha* and *marga* alongwith the number of followers

it draws and its source of origin do play in determining the respect they command, but they do not reflect any hierarchy. Its coverage in cosmology the philosophy of universe is part of the *darsanic paksha* and here *darsana* is not only a distinctive feature of *sampradaya* but at times even important constituent. Hence the proper understanding of *darsana paksha* is essential, for the understanding of *sampradaya*. It can not be looked upon merely as a coverage in cosmology the philosophy of universe. *Darsana* itself has a to serve *purashartha*, as mentioned earlier is lived in the *sampradayas*. Again the "range of moral and ethical doctrines" form part of the *achara*, a conception widely discussed in *Dharmasastras*. The studies which referred so far, completely overlook the overarching role of *achara*, which is the very basis of human behaviour. If *darsana* and *achara* dimension would not have been overlooked then the proper understanding of *sampradaya* would not have been built.

It became imperative on our part to re-interpret the *purvapaksha* in light of the *anvekshana smagri* produced in the course of this study. Whereas the *samagri* generated through *purvapaksha* has been used in this study, it has been re-interpreted in context of our *anvekshana samagri*.

Anvekshika Paksha

This *paksha* does not form part of the *purva paksha* as it generates *samagri* through *anvekshana*. We are mentioning this paksha here because *purva paksha* wherever has been incorporated into this *prasthana* has been in light of this *paksha*. *Anvekshana* also provides us with an opportunity to reinterpret *purva paksha* under its observations. This *paksha* includes the *samagri* collected through *Anvekshana*. It produced two kinds of *samagri*, one through observation and the second textual material of the related *sampradayas* and their

mathas and *akharas*. In this study the *anvekshana samagri* plays the foundational role. The entire study is based on it and other *pakshas* play merely a role of inputs into the foundation laid down by this *paksha*.

In this study we have been able to make little use of the literature published by various *sampradayas*. The literature mainly dealt with the eulogistic life stories of various *acharayas* of the *sampradaya*. They preserved the list of *guruparampara* and this provided us with insights in the institution and its importance. This literature also provides us with the information on their various welfare activities, which shaped the conception of *loka-sangraha* as dealt in chapter five and six. Most of the literature published is *pravachana* based (discourse on rightful conduct). Most of the activities in *sampradayas* and their *akharas* and *mathas* are performed through oral communication.

Anvekshika paksha mainly forms the *samagri* collected through *anvekshana*. As mentioned earlier, *anvekshana* means to find, to search through seeing through observation. For this purpose, we first visited *ardha-kumbha mela*, Prayag, 1995 for a period of over a month (Jan-Feb). At the beginning of the first chapter we have mentioned how we approached the *sadhus* as *jijnasu* and *mumukshu*, who took us as *sadhaka*, which vanquished the duality between *anvekshaka* (one who is ding *anvekshana*) and the people with of whom the study was being done.

In the first round of *anvekshana* for over a month at Prayag *ardha-kumbha*, we completed the preliminary survey of various *sampradays*, *sadhus*, their way of life, organisational structure, pattern and change as seen by them. This helped us understand the basic nature of the subject. The *samagri* collected here was on the conception of *sampradaya*

among *sadhus*, their *mata* distinctions and evolution. In the fourth chapters it is on the basis of this *samagri* that we have elaborated the concept of *sampradaya* and rearranged and re-interpreted the *samagri* provided by other *pakshas* on the concept and notion of *sampradayas*. In the same chapter the various contexts of *dharma* which we have worked out were also verified. Here our stay was at *Juna Akhara* and *Bara Udasina akhara shivirs*, we also stayed for short interval with other *Anis, akharas, khalsa, mathas* and *shivirs* of *mathas* and *mandalesvaras* (list is provided subsequently). The *madhi* and *dava* formations and the subsequent *panchayati* organisation was elaborated to us by the sadhus of these *akharas*. This has been discussed in chapter five.

List of the *shivirs* (camps) at the *Ardha kumbha* Prayag, 1995 and *Purna kumbha*, Haridwara, 1998, visited by us during our *anvekshana*.

1. All the *akhara shivirs* of *Dasmani sampradaya.*
2. *Digambara Ani shivir.*
3. *Dakor khalsa shivir.*
4. Six *akhara shivirs* of *chatu-sampradaya.*
5. *Chatuh sampradaya khalsa shivir.*
6. *Shivirs* of eight m*andaleswaras* of *Dasnami sampradaya*.
7. *Shivir* of the Sankracharya (*Badrikasrama*),Swami Vasudevananda Saraswati[49].
8. *Shivir* of the Sankracharya (*Dwarkasrama),* Swami Swaroopanand Saraswati.
9. The *Sivir* of Tridandi Swami, the then *Sanrakshaka* (patron) of *Vaishnavas*[50].
10. *Bara Udasina akhara.*
11. *Naya Udasina akhara.*

[49] There is a dispute over the real *peethacharya* of *Badrikasram*, there are two others claiments.

[50] In the same *shivir* the conference of *Vaishnavas* was organized, where Mahanta Nritya Gopala Das was eclared the new *Sanrakshaka* of *Vaishnavas*.

12. *Shivir* of Phalahari Baba (*Vaishnava*).

13. *Shivir* of Krishnacharyaji (*Ramanuji*).

14. *Shivir* of *Dharma Sangha.*

15. *Shivir* of Prajapati *Brahma Kumari.*

Apart from these *shivirs* our *anvekshana* outside the two *kumbhas* (one purna *kumbha* and other *ardha-kumbha*) was at Muni-ki-Reti, Rishikesh by staying at Surya Ganga Needam. It is a place on the banks of Ganga, where *sadhus* mostly involved in *sadhana* in solitude live with minimum comforts. It is a place where solitary *sadhus* and *sampradayi sadhus* both lived with the purpose of *sadhana*. This helped us understand the feel of *sadhana* in particular and way of life of a sadhu in general. Surya Ganga Needam had been our semi-permanent residence, from where we visited several *mathas*, *akharas* and *asramas* around Rishikesh and Haridwara. Prominent among these were, Kailash Ashram, Dayanand Ashram, Parmartha Niketan, Gita Bhavan, Shivanand Ashram, Svargashram, and Vaishtha Gufa (a place where *Rshi* Vasistha is believed to have undergone *tapas*). There was a place in the opposite side of Ganga, of the Surya Ganga Needam, where it is believed that Lakshmana had undergone tapas). It is near Lakshman-Jhoola. We were staying near Ram-Jhoola, were Bhagvan Ram is believed to had undergone *tapas*.

We spent most of the time at Kailash Ashram as it was stressed by the *antevasis* (inmates) that the *ashrama* stresses on *Sruti parampara* and still maintains *Sruti parampara* in its pristine forms. Also we found some of the *acharyas* of the *ashrama* learned. *Mahamandaleswara*,, Swami Vidyanand Giri had authored several books and is the current *peethacharya* of the *asrama*. Swami Virendranand Saraswati of Surya Ganga Needam was also once an *achraya* of the *asrama*. Dayanand Ashram on "modern technique' of emphasized

in propagating the ideals of *vedanta*. It runs several courses on vedanta in English for sadhus. It also emphasises on *Sruti parampara* for the understanding of *Vedanta* and claimed that its interpretation even in English took care of this aspect. Shivanand Ashram is an international organisation with several foreigner followers. The following of the *asrama* is mainly urban rich and foreigners. It has its offices in several countries of the world. Parmartha Niketan and Gita Bhavan, and Svargashram are running on the pattern of (*dharmshalas*) providing residence to *tirtha yatris*, i.e. pilgrimagers). Vasistha Gufa is also an abode of solitary *sadhus*, a few kilometers towards Deo-prayag from Rishikesh.

We also visited Badrika Ashram, Joshi Matha and stayed there for a week. We were staying where it is believed that Sankaracharya himself had undergone tapas.. In Badrinath we visited several sadhus staying on the banks of Alkananda in cave formations. We visited a few staying in caves on the way to Badrinath. These sadhus displayed extra-ordinary capacity of bearing cold. Their main *sadhana* form being *Yoga-sadhana*. We also visited Shantikunj, Haridwara of the Gayatri Parivara being run almost on the pattern of a residential University.

The last round of Anvekshana, was done by us during the Purna Kumbha, Mela, Haridwara, Jan-May 1998. Our study at Kumbhas, was infact most fruitful, as it is here that we had an opportunity to observe the diversity of the *sampradayas* and *sadhus*. Almost every *sampradaya* and every *sadhu* is supposed to be present at *kumbha*. The *shivirs* organised here almost run on the similar pattern , as they are run in their permanent place. We realised here that any person wanting to understand the various aspects of Indian society, must visit and stay at the *kumbhas*.

The understanding of *Guru parampara*, the structurative process of *sampradayas*, and various aspects and distinctions of *sampradaya* were understood during these *anvekshana*. Apart from the organization of *akhara, matha,* and *khalsa and* their inter-relationship the changes being incorporated were observed here. It is on the basis of *anvekshika paksha* that we elaborated the forms of *sannyasa*, other than as elaborated in *sastric paksha*. On the basis of anvekshana we recorded the stages of *sadhus* life and compared it with *sastric paksha*, we also observed the becoming of a *sadhu*. The changes in the forms of *sannyasa* and the changes through the various activities of *sampradayas* were also reflected upon in this *prasthana* on the basis of *anvekshana*.

Chapter III

Nyaya and *Pramana*
Categories of Cognition and Proof

During our *anvekshana*, while inquiring the various aspects of *sadhus* and *sampradayas* we needed a method to test the validity of our observation and evolve a perspective. We have already discussed the importance and necessity of this in the introductory chapter of this *prasthana*. What we needed was a method which would equally be relevant and be understood by those who/with we were studying. This method was provided to us by the *darsanic paksha* of the *sampradayas*, which forms the basis of the distinctions among various *sampradayas*. The *sampradayas* always debated over the issue of validity and invalidity of cognition and came out with categories of cognition and proof. These categories of cognition and proof evolved through the *darsanic paksha* of sampradayas, where easily comprehensible to those *sadhus* who had some learning of the *darsanic paksha* of their *sampradaya*. This made our *anvekshana* more fruitful and dialogical. We got the capacity to ask the proof of what they are informing. Since these categories have the history of their evolution in inter-*sampradaya* debates known as *sastratha*, they had almost universal acceptance among *sampradayas*. In this chapter we provide and elaboration of the categories of cognition and proof on the basis of *darsanic paksha* of *sampradayas*.

During our *anvekshana* Swami Asangananda at Rishikesh, said that the extinction of the *parampara* of *Sastrartha* (debate) and lack of Sanskrit learning has led to the degeneration of *sampradayas*. As earlier the *sampradayas* in order to prove their *mata* (mainly *darsana*)

used to prepare for the exercise which had led to their growth. The *darsanic* content of any *sampradaya* is important, as it shapes the way of life followed by the *sampradaya*. In this chapter we provide an elaboration of the categories of cognition and proof on the basis of *darsanic paksha* of *sampradayas* and other *darsanas*. These categories have evolved in inter-sampradaya debates and are still prevalent among the *sampradayas*.

Vako-Vakya "dialogue" is the name given in the *Brahmanas* to certain portions of *Veda* (*Sat. Bra*.iv.6,9,20; xi, 5,6,8;7,5; *Cha. Up*.xii,1,2,4; 2,1; 7, 1). The dawn of Brahma, i.e. *Brahmodaya* is *vako-vakya* (Sat,Bra.iv.6,9,20). In his *Bhashya* of *Chha. Up*..the term is explained by Sankara as *Tarkasastram* (i.e. the art of disputation). *Vako-Vakya, Katha, Vadvidya* (an *anusasana* dealing with the categories of debate over various "religious, philosophical, moral, doctrinal" issues), `*Sastratha*, etc. are the various ways of dialogue and debate Akshapada Gautam in his *Nyaya-sutra* presents a comprehensive view of these[1].

Debates in Akshapada's view, can be of three types: 1) an honest debate called *vada*) where both sides, proponent and opponent, are seeking the truth, that is wanting to establish the right view; 2) a tricky debate (called *jalpa*) where the *goal* is to win by fair means or foul; 3) a destructive debate (called *vitanda)* where the goal is to defeat or demolish the opponents, no matter how. Apart from developing" a theory of evidence" *(pramana*) and argument *(tarka*) needed for the first type of debate *Nyaya-sutra* lists twenty two number of situation types, where the debate will be concluded and one side declared "defeated" or *nigrahsthana*, (the defeat situation or the clinchers). For example a) if the opponent cannot understand the

[1] There were several *vada* manuals available around the beginning of Christian era. They were meant for students who wanted to learn how to conduct debates successfully. Of these manuals, the one found in the *Nyaya sutras* of Akshpada Gautam is comparatively more systematic than others (Matilal 1992)

proponents argument or b) is confused or c) cannot reply within a reasonable time limit all these will be cases of defeat (Matilal 1992:2-3).

> *Nyaya-sutra* 1.21 states that *Vada* is constituted by the following characteristics:
> 1. Establishment (of the thesis) and refutation (of the counter thesis) should be based upon adequate evidence or means of knowledge (*pramana*) as well as upon (proper) hypothetical or indirect reasoning (*tarka*).
> 2. The conclusion should not entail contradiction with analytical or "accepted doctrine".
> 3) Each side should use the well-known five steps of the demonstration explicitly[2].
> 4) They should clearly recognize a thesis to be defended and a counter thesis to be repeated.

The categories of cognition and proof employed here are based on *Nyaya*. It is from here that we enter into discussion with other *darsanas* and their *nyayas* or their view on *nyaya*. It is essential to mention here that all the early debates on the issue were phono-centric in nature. Even though the textual aspect also creeps in as later development, but the fundamentals are firmly grounded in the oral aspect (*Sruti*). The basic understanding of it and sensitivity to *Sruti parampara* is inevitably important[3].

Anvikshiki

Kautilya enumerates *anvikshiki* as *vidya* (of "testing the perceptual and scriptual knowledge" by further scrutiny) among the seven *vidyas* enumerated by him. The seven *vidyas* as enumerated by Kautilya are, (*trayi* the *vedas*) *varta* (*vidya* of agriculture ,cattle-keeping etc.) and *dandaniti* (polity), *Sankhya*, *Yoga*, *Lokayata* and *Anvikshiki* (Dasgupta 1963: (1922): 278). *Anvikshki* finds mention in - *Manu sanhita* (7.43); *Gautama-dharma sutra*

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[2] According to *Nyaya sutra*, there are five "limbs" or "steps" in structural reasoning. They should all be articulated linguistically. These five steps have been enumerated later in this chapter while discussing *anumana*.
[3] This has been briefly explained in previous chapter under *Sruti-paksha*.

(*adhyaya*, 11); *Ramayana* (*Ayodhyakanda*,100.36); *Mahabhrat (Santipava*, 180.47); etc. *Anvikshiki* according to Vidyabhushan was also called *Hetu vidya, Tarkavidya, vadavidya*, etc. *Tarkavidya* or *vadavidya* is referred to in *Manu-sanhita* (6.50; 8.269; 12.106, 111); *Mahabharat (Sanitiparva*, 180.47; 246.18); *Skanda-purana (Kali-khaanda, Adhyaya 17); Gautama-dharma sutra (adhyaya ii); Ramayana* (1-13-23; 7-53-15); *Yajnvalkya-sanhita* (3-292); etc. (Vidyabhushan 1971(1920): 7-8).

Vidyabhushan considers Medatithi Gautama as the founder of *anvikshiki vidya* and refers to Charaka, Kapila, Dattatreya, Punarvasu Atreya, Sulabha and Ashtavakra, as other *acharyas* of *Anvikshiki*. In the *parishads* (councils of debate) technical terms used for the subject matter of *Anvikshiki*. In *Aitreya arnyaka* four such terms are mentioned viz 1*) smrti*, 2) *pratyaksha* (perception), 3) *aitihya* (tradition) , and 4) *anumana* (inference). (1-2). These terms occur in *Ramayana* (5:87:23) with little alteration as 1) *aitihya* (tradition), 2) *anumana* (inference) and 3) *sastra*. Three of these terms are used in *Manu-sanhita*, as *pratyaksha, anumana* and *sastra*. Similarly in *Aitreya Brahmana*, *Kathopanishad*, etc, there occur terms as *tarka* (reasoning), *vada* (debate), *yukti* (continuous argument), *jalpa* (wrangling) *vitanda* (cavil), *chhala* (quibble*), niranya* (ascertainment), *prayojana* (purpose), *pramana* (proof,) prameya (the object of knowledge) , etc (ibid: 23).

In the last chapter of the *Arthasastra*, Kautilya gives a list of thirty two technical terms called *tantra-yukti* or "the forms of scientific argumentation". The *tantra yukti* which literally signifies "scientific argument" was compiled to systematize debates in *parishadas* (or learned councils). In *Susruta sanhita* (*Uttaratantra*, ch.lxv)[4], it is distinctly stated that by

[4] The *Uttaratantra* is said to have been added to *Susruta sanihita* by the redactor Nagarjuna. The *Tantra yukti* as embodied in *Susruta sanhita* consists of 32 technical terms as per Vatsyayana (*Nyaya-bhashya* 1.1.4). Vide Vidhyabhushan, p.24.

means of *tantra-yukti* a debater can establish his own points (ibid: 24).[5]

Charaka sanhita enumerates *dvividha sambhasha* (two kinds of debates). The first is called *anuloma sambhasha* (congenial debate) held peacefully (*sandhaya)* and the second *vgrhya sambhasha* (hostile debate) held in a spirit of opposition. It also enumerates *vadopaya* (expedients of debate), *vada-maryada* (the limits of debate i.e. what not to be said and what to be said) and *vada marga* (the course of debate). There are forty four categories mentioned for learning *vada-marga* (ibid: 29-35)[6].

Nyaya

The word *Nyaya* derived from the root *ni* is sometimes explained as that by which sentences and words could be interpreted as having one particular meaning and not another, and on the strength of this even *Vedic* accents of words (which indicate the meaning of compound words entered into combination) were called *Nyaya*[7].

Vatsyayana on *Nyaya-sutra* I.1.1. distinctly identifies *Nyaya-vidya* with *Anvikshki*, but justifies the seperate enumeration of certain logical categories such as *sansaya* (doubt) etc.

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5 The technical terms consitituting the *tantra-yukti* as per Kautilya are the following:
1*) Adhikarana*(a subject); 2*) Vidhana* (arrangment); 3) yoga (union of words); 4*) padartha* (category); 5*) hetvartha* (implicatiion); 6*) uddesa* (enunciation); 7*) nirdesa* (declaration); 8*) upadesa* (instruction); 9*) apadesa* (specification); 10) *atidesa (*extented application); 11) *pradesa* (determination from a statement to be made); 12) *upamana* (analogy); 13) *arthapatti* (presumption); 14*) sansaya* (doubt); 15) *prasanga* (a connected argument); 16) *viparayaya* (reversion); 17) *vaikya-sesa* (context); 18) *anumat* (assent); 19*) vyakhyana* (description); 20) *nirvachana* (etymological explantion); 21*) nidarsana* (example); 22) *apavarga* (exception); 23) *uttarapaksha* (reply); 26) *ekanta (*certain); 27) *anagatavekshana* (anticipation); 28) *atipranta-vekshana* (retrospection); 29) *niyoga* (injunction); 30) *vikalpa* (alternative); 31*) samuchchaya* (aggregation); and 32) *uhya* (ellipsis).
In the *Charaka-sanhita* which consists of thirty f our terms includes the following:
1) *Prayojana* (purpose); 2) *nirnaya* (ascertainment); 3) *anekanta* (uncertain); 4) *pratyachchara* (repetition); 5) *uddharana* (citation); and 6) *sambhava* (probability) vide Vidyabhushan, p.25.
2)
6 For the list of forty four categories and their brief explanations of *vada marga* refer to Vidhyabhushana, p.31-35.
7 Kalidasa's *Kumarasambhava "guhato pranavo yasam nyayais-tribhiru diranam*",and Mallinatha's comments on it. Vide Dasgupta,V.I,p.276-277.

Though these were already contained within the first two-terms *pramanaas* (means of cognition) and *prameya* (objects of cognition), by holding that unless its special and separate departure *(prthaka-prasthana)*[8] were treated, *Nyaya-vidya* would simply become *adhyatmavidya* (metaphysics) like the *Upanishads*. The old meaning of *Nyaya* as the means of determining the right meaning of the right thing is also agreed upon by Vatsyayana and is sanctioned by Vachaspati Misra in his *Nyaya Varttikatatparyatika* (I.1.1). He compares the meaning of the word *Nyaya (pramanairarthaparikshanam* i.e. to scrutinizre by means of logical proof) by the etymological meaning of the word *anvikshiki* (to scrutinize anything after it has been known by perception and *sastra)*. Vatsyayana points out that so far as this logical side of *Nyaya* is concerned it has the widest scope for itself as it includes all beings, all their actions, and all the *vidyas*[9]. He quotes Kautilya to show that in this capacity *Nyaya* is like light illuminating all sciences and is means of all works. In its capacity as dealing with the truths of *adhyatma* (metaphysics) it may show the way to *moksha* . Vatsyayana designates the logical portion as a *prthaka-prasthana Nyaya* (separate branch) (Dasgupta 1963:(1922): 277-279).

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[8]It is in this sense that, we have used the term *prasthana* in this *prasthana.*

[9] *Yena prayuktah pravartta tat prayojanam* (that by which one is led to act is called *prayojana); yamartham abhisan jihasan va karma arabhate tenanena sarve praninah sarvani karmani sarvascha pravarttate*: all those which one tries to have or to fly from are called *prayojana*, therefore all beings, all their actions, and all *vidya's* are included within *prayojana*, and all this depends on *Nyaya. Vaisyayana-bhashya*, I.1.1.Vide Dasgupta,Vol.I,p.278.

Dasgupta translates *vidya* as science, we have retained the original category-vidya. As per the tradition, with the passage of time, the corpus of knowledge were re-classified to incorporate the new developments. Under one such classification is the taxonomy of *vidyas* which are traditionally held to be eighteen in number. This includes four *Vedas* viz. *Sanhita* (Rg, Yaju, Sama Atharva); Brahmana; Arnayaka; and Upanishad; six Vedangas viz. Siksha, *Kalpa, Vyakarna, Nirukta* and *Jyotisha;* four *Upavedas viz Artha, Dhanur, Gandharva* and *Ayur* (each of them is related to a *vedic sanhita); Nyaya; Mimansa* (*Purva* and *Uttara*); *Dharmasastra* and finally *Purana*. Ramdas Gaud (1938) reclassifies the last four by merging *Nyaya* and *Mimansa* into one as *Darsana* and adding *Tantra* within the fold of eighteen *Vidyas*. Kautilya enumerates seven *vidyas; Anvikshiki* being one of them..

The *Nyaya*-model of the *Nyaya-sutra* became the reference point for *nyayas* of all other *darsanas*. Dinnaga, Dharmakirti, Jainas, etc made special contribution in this direction giving rise to *Baudha nyaya, Jaina, nyaya*, etc Udayana and Gangesa considered to be father of *Navya Nyaya* made historic contribution in the field of *Nyaya*[10].The literary model followed by Gangesa is *a prasthana* (departure) from the model of *sutra-bhashya-varttika-vrtti-tika-tippani* and subsequently *prakaranas*.. His model is followed by the *darsana* writers after him[11].

Nyaya sutra deals with sixteen categories very similar to that of enumerated in *tantra-yukti* as follows:

> 1) *Pramana* (the means of cognition); 2) *Prameya* (the object of cognition); 3) *Sansaya* (doubt); 4) *Prayojana* (purpose); 5) *Drshtanta* (example); 6) *Sidhanta* (tenet); 7) *Avayava* (syllogism); 8) *Tarka* (argument); 9) *Niranaya* (ascertainment); 10) *Vada* (discussion); 11) *Jalpa* (wrangling); 12) *Vitanda* (cavil); 13) *Hetvabhasa* (fallacy); 14) *Chhala* (quibble); 15) *Jati* (analogue) and 16) *Nigrahasthana* (the point of defeat).

The *Nyaya-sutra* treats sixteen categories which comprise all the topics of *vada-marga* (the course of debate) as enumerated in the *Charka-sanhita*. While there is no order among the topics of *Chraka-sanhita*, there exists evidently a regular arrangement among the categories of the *Nyaya sutra*. The categories are according to the commentaries on the *Nyaya sutra*[12], supposed to represent stages in the course of a debate.

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[10] For brief analysis see Bimal Krishna Matilal, *The Character of Indian Logic*. Also see Sitish Chandra Vidyabhushana, *History of Indian Logic*.

[11] Battacharya (1958:56) observes: Gangesa's achievement is quite unique in the history of philosophic literature in India. There is not another scholar in the whole medieval period who had such a spectacular success through one single book. The *Tattvachintamani* a treatise of about 12000 *granthas* in extent (one *grantha*=32 syllables) appeared like a flash to dispel the gloom of centuries succeeding Udayana and laid down the solid foundation of Indian dialectics (As quoted by Matilal, *Character of Indian Logic*, p.140).

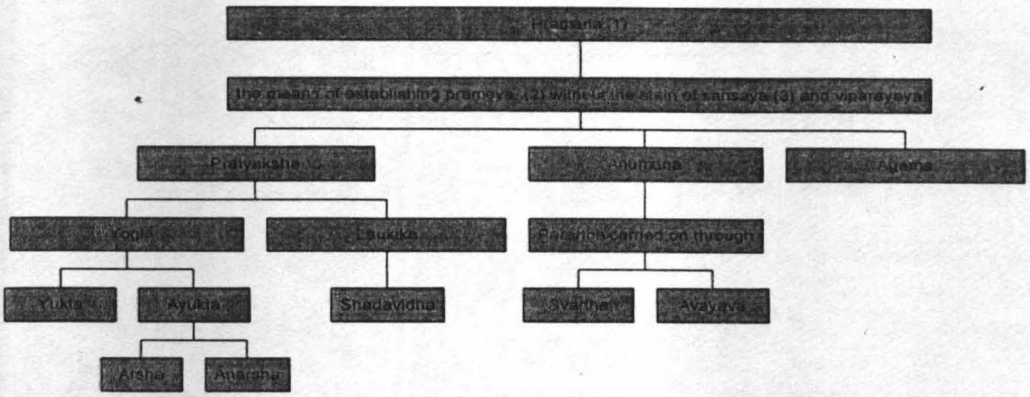
[12] Vatsyayana in his *Nyaya bhashya* and Visvanatha in his *Nyaya-sutra-vritti* while explaining the sixteen categories, justify the gradual order of their succession. Vide Vidya- bhushan, pp.54-66.

Nyaya-Prakarana

Prakarna is defined as a book which concerns itself with the topics of a portion of a *sastra* which may deal even with matter not included in the *sastra*, e.g. the *Nyaya sara* and *Saptapadarthi* two very early *prakaranas* treat in a very lucid way most topics of the *Nyaya-sutra* and *Vaiseshika-sutra* respectively, and at the same time some topics not included in those *sutras*. Many matters which are elaborately treated in the earlier works on *Nyaya* have found little attention in the *prakaranas*, while some subjects which were merely referred in the earlier works on *Nyaya* have been clearly explained, for instance the topics of *chhala* (quibble), *jati* (analogue) and *nigrahastana* (points of defeat) explained elaborately in early works drew little attention in the *parkaranas*. Whereas, *avayava* (syllogism) which was briefly treated earlier has been elaborately explained.

These *prakaranas* may be divided into four classes; 1) the *Nyaya* works treating only of the *pramana* to which the remaining fifteen categories where subordinated; 2) the *Nyaya* works which embody in them the categories of the *Vaiseshika darsana*; 3) the works which treat six or seven *vaiseskha* categories assimilating in them the *Nyaya* category of *pramana*, and 4) the works which treat certain topics of the *Nyaya* and certain topics of the *Vaiseshika*. Most of the authors on *pramanas* considered it necessary to combine such subjects of the *Nyaya* and *Vaiseshika* as would give us a complete theory of valid knowledge as well as of the objects which would give rise to that knowledge (Vidhyabhusan 1971(1920):356).

The *Jaina* and *Baudha Naiyayikas* (*Nyayaists*) dealt only with one category, viz, *pramana*, Bha-sarvajna, the author of *Nyaya-sara* was the first among the *prakarana* authors, who attempted to explain the sixteen categories of *Nyaya-sutra* through one i.e. *Pramana*. The



scheme laid in the *Nyaya sara*, for the explanation of sixteen categories through one may be exhibited in the tabular form, thus:

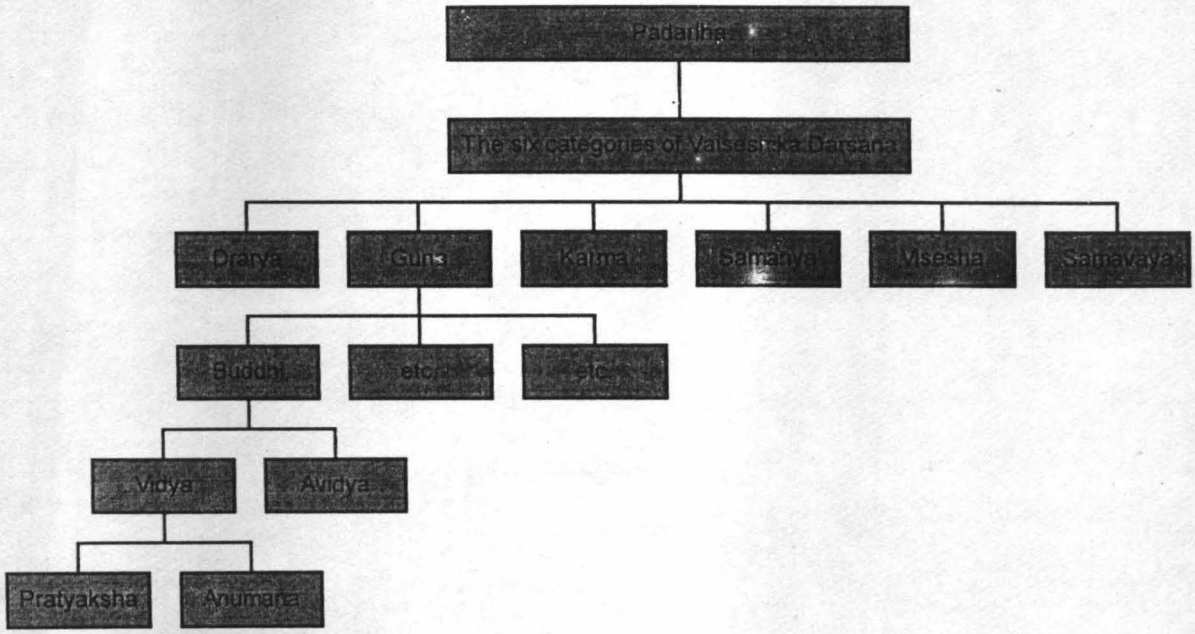
From the above it is evident that Bha-sarvajna embodied in his *Pramana* all the categories of the *Nyaya-sutra* except *prayojana* (4) and *sidhanta* (6) which did not according to him, constitute the integral parts and *drshtanta* (5) which was included in *avayava* under the name *udaharna* (ibid:359).

Varadraja works out a scheme of combination of the *Nyaya* and *Vaishshika* categories in his *Tarkaraksha*. He combines sixteen categories of *Nyaya-sutra* under *Padartha* and then within *Prameya* includes the twelve objects of *Nyaya* and six categories of the *Vaiseshika* (ibid:375). There are several other *Nyaya-prakarnas* embodying *vaisehika* categories e.g. *Tarka-bhasha* of Kesava Misra, etc.

Vallabhacharya, the author of *Nyaya-lilavati*, a *Vaiseshika prakarana* embodying the *Nyaya* cartegory of *Pramana* deals with six categories, viz 1) substance (*dravya*), 2) quality (*guna*), 3) action (*karma*), 4) generality (*samanya*), 5) particularity (*visesha*) and 6) inherence (*samasvaya*). Under the category *guna* there comes *buddhi* (intellect or knowledge) which is divided as *vidya* and *avidya*. The means for ascertaining *vidya* are called perception (*pratyaksha*), inference (*anumana*), comparison (*upamana*),and verbal testimony (*sabda*).

Presumption (*arthapatti*), probablity (*sambhava*), tradition (*aitihya*), are not seperate means of right knowledge according to Vallabha..

The Nyaya conception of *pramana* (means of knowledge) is thus included in the categories of the *Vaiseshika darsana*. The scheme of incorporation is shown below[13]:



Other *Vaiseshika-prakaranas* embodying the Nyaya category of *pramana* are *Tarka-rangraha* of Annam Bhatta, *Bhasha-parichchheda* of Visvanatha, *Nyaya-panchanana, Tarkamrta* by Jagdisa Tarkalankara, *Tarkakaumudi of* Laugakshi Bhaskara. etc[14].

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[13] Vide Vidyabhushan, p.387. The categories of *Vaiseshika darsana* are called *padartha*. Vidyabhushan terms "doctrine of *pramana*" has been replaced by "conception of *pramana*" by us.

[14] For brief refernce to these refer, ibid.

While treating the *prakaranas* it was found that it is impossible to confine the *Nyaya* with *Vaiseshika* , the categories of the two being altogether different. The sixteen categories of the *Nyaya* cannot assimilate the seven categories of the *Vaiseshika* nor can the latter assimilate the former (Vidyabhushana 1971(1920): 402).

After a rigorous discourse lasting over a thousand years, the thinkers and *darsanikas* of the *Nyaya parampara* started taking up only one topic, i.e. *pramana* which included the necessary elements required for it and discarded the other. Hence *Pramana* became a comprhensive conception elaborating over all the important *darsanas*.

Pramana

Pramana in Sanskrit signifies the means and movement by which knowledge is acquired Pramata means the subject or the knower who cognizes, *prama* --the result of *pramana* i.e, right knowledge, knowledge of reality or valid cognition, *prameya*--the object of knowledge and *pramanya* - the validity of knowledge acquired. The verbal root *ma* of these terms derived with the prefix *pra*, means also to measure (apart from meaning to cognize.) The analogy based on this ambiguity of ma explains well. What is to be measured is the *prameya*, and that by which to measure is *pramana*.

As we have explained earlier, the *Nyaya vaiseshika* regards all effects as being due to the "assemblage of certain collocations" which unconditionally, invariablly and immediately preceded these effects. That collocations (*samagri*) which produced knowledge" involved certain "non-intelligent as well intelligent elements" and through their conjoint action "uncontradicted and determinate knowledge was produced, this "collocation" is thus called

Pramana or the determining cause of the origin of the knowledge.[15] Dasgupta observes:

> None of the seperate elements "composing the causal collocation" can be called the primary cause; it is their "joint collocation" that can be said to determine the effect, for some time the absence of a single element "composing the causal collocation" is sufficient to stop the "production of the effect". The "collocation or the combination is not an entity separated from the collocated or combined things, but in any case it is the preceding collocations that combined to produce the effect jointly". This involves not only "intellectual elements" (e.g.indeterminate cognition as qualification (*viseshana)* in *savilapa pratyaksha the* knowledge of *linga* in *anumana* (inference), the seeing of similar things in *upamana*, the hearing of sound in *sabda*. Also the "assemblage of such physical things (e.g. proximity of the object of perception, capacity of the sense, light, etc.), which are also in dispensable for the origin of knowledge. The cognitive and physical elements all co-operate in the same place, combine together and produce further determinate knowledge". It is this "capacity of the collocations" i.e. *samagri* that is called *pramana* (1963[1922]: 330-331).

Vatsyayana in his *Bhashya* on *Nyaya-sutra* (1.13) explains *pramanas* as the instruments of knowledge (i.e. of valid presentative knowledge) is to be understood by the 'etymological analysis (*nirvachchana*) of the epithet *(samakhya)* (i.e.*pramana* itself). The word *pramana* signifies the instrument, because (it is derived as)' by this is rightly known' (*pramiyate anena*). Thus, the explanation of the specific epithets (like *pratyaksha,anumana*, etc.), too is to be understood in a similar manner.

Udyotkara defined *pramana* as *uplabdhihetu* (cause of knowledge). This view does not go against Jayant's view which Dasgupta follows, but it emphasizes the side of *vyapara* or movement of the sense etc. by virtue of which the objects come in contact with them and knowledge is produced[16]. Thus it is the action of the sense, a *pramana* which is the direct

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[15] *Avya bhichari nimsrandigdhartho palabhadhim vidadhati bodhabodhsvabhava samagri pramanam; Nyaya Manjari,* vide Dasgupta, Vol.I,p.330.

[16] Vachaspati Misra: *Siddhamindriyadi asiddhancha tatsanrikarshadi vyaparyannutpadyam karana eva, charitarthah karnam trindriyadi tatsannikarshadi va mayatara charitarthamiti sakshadupaladhaveva phale vyapriyate. Tatparyatika,* vide (ibid).

cause of the production of knowledge, but as this production could not have taken place without the subject and the object, they also are to be regarded as causes in some sense[17]. *Pratyaksha, anumana, upamana* and *sabda* are the four *pramanas* considered as valid in *Nyaya sutra.*

Pramana as valid knowledge is defined as the cognition of objects as they are (*tatha bhuta rtha jnanam hi pramanam uchyate)* and *apramanam* or invalid knowledge is defined as the cognition of objects as they are not (*atha bhuta rtha jnanam hi apramanam*). Such a validity it is urged by Meghnadri, is manifested by knowledge itself (*tathatva vadharana tmakam pramanayam atmanai va nischiyate*)[18]. (ibid 1968 (1940): 247).

Dharmottara, a commentator of Dharmakirti's *Nyaya-bindu* (a *Sautrantika Baudha* work) dercribes *samayag jnana* (right knowledg) as an invariable antecedents to the accomplishment of all that a man desired to have *(samayag jnana purvika sarva purshartha sidhi*). The process of knowledge starts with the perceptual presentation and ends with the attainment of the thing represented by it and the fulfilment of the practical need by it (*arthidhagamat sampatah pramana vyaparah*) through *pramanas*. Explaining Pratyaksha Dharmottara comments that there are three moments in the pratyaksha cognition : 1) the presentation, 2) our prompting in accordance with our endeavour following the direction of knowledge. *Anumana* (inference) is also to be called *samayag jnana,* as it also serves a practical need by representing the presence of objects in certain connections and helping us

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[17] *Pramatr prameya yoh pramane chritarthatvamacharitarth atvam pramanysa tanmat tadev phalahetuh. pramatrprameya tu phaloddesena pravrtti iti taddhetu kathanchit*, vide. ibid.

[18] This leads to the conception of *svatahpramanya* (or self validity) of knowledge. Dasgupta observes that this does not expose it to the criticism that knowledge, being passive, cannot at the same moment be also regarded as active, determining its own nature as valid (*nacha karma kartrta virodhah);* for it is of the nature of a faithful representation of the object the manifestation of its own nature as such is an affirmation of its validity.

to realize them. In *pratyaksha* this presentation is direct, while in *anumana* this is thought about indirectly through *linga* (reason) (ibid 1963(1922):151). *Bauddhas* consider *pratyaksha* and *anumana* as the only valid *pramanas*, either rejecting the rest or including the others into these two.

Pramanas in Madhva's *Dvaita vedanta darsana* is an object of knowledge cognizable as it is in itself (*yathartham pramanam*)[19]. The function of *pramana* consists both in making an entity object of knowledge through the production of knowledge (*jnana-janada vava sampadaktvena*), either directly (*sakshat*) or indirectly (*asakshat*). There are two functions in a pramana viz 1) to render an entity an object of knowledge ((*jneya vishayikarana*) and 2) to make it cognizable (*jneyata-sampadena*)[20]. So far as the function of making an object of knowledge is concerned, all *pramanas* directly perform it, it is only with reference to the second function that there is a distinction between the two kinds of *pramana*, *kevala* and *anu*, such that it is only the former that performs it directly and the latter that performs it indirectly (*parmapara krama*). So it is clear that *pramana* is twofold. *Pramana* as true knowledge (*kevala pramana*) and *pramana* as instrument (*sadhana*) of knowledge (once *pramana*). This *kevala pramana* is again twofold, as consciousness (*chaitanya*) and as states (*vrtti*). This consciousness is described by Jayatirtha as superior, middling and inferior (*uttamamadhyamadhama)* as right, mixed and wrong, the *vrtti* is also three fold, as *pratyaksha, anumana* and *agama*. The *anu pramana* is also threefold, as *pratyaksha*, *anumana* and *agama* (Dasgupta 1966(1949):160,161).This *mata* is followed by *Madhva*

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[19] Madhva's definition of *Pramana* in his *pramana lakshana* is elaborated by Jaya tirtha in his *Pramana paddhati* as *jneyam anatikramy vartamanan yathavasthitam era jneyam yad vishayikaroti nanyatha tal pramanan* vide, Dasgupta, V-IV, p.160.

[20] *Jayatirtha vijaya tippani* on the *Pramana padhpati* by Janardan, vide, ibid.

sampradaya of *chatuh-sampradaya.*

The knowledge as per Vallabha that is associated with the *pramanas* is the *sattvika* knowledge; the *sattva* is associated with prama (or right knowledge),and when it disappears there is error. *Prama* is defined as uncontradicted knowledge or knowledge that is not liable to contradiction. The increase of the *sattva* by which knowledge is produced may be due to various causes, e.g. *sastras*, objects, people, country, time, birth ,*karma*, meditation, *mantras*, purifications, *sanskaras*, etc. (ibid:337). This *mata* on *pramana* is followed by *Vallabha sampradaya.*

In the Umasvati's *Tattvarthadhigam* sutra (*Jaina mata*) *pramana* fluctuates between the meaning of valid knowledge and the means of valid knowledge. In its former sense *pramana*, according to this sutra is of two kinds: 1) *Paroksha*, indirect knowledge, which is acquired through the external agencies such as the organ of the senses and 2) *Pratyaksha*, direct knowledge which is acquired without the intervention of external agencies. Paroksha, indirect knowledge includes *mati* and *sruta*, for these are acquired by the medium of the sense and the mind. Knowledge which is attained by *yoga* (concentration) in its three stages of *avadhi, manahparyaya* and *kevala-* is a species of *pratyaksha*, direct knowledge, because it is acquired through the medium of the senses (Vidyabhushan 1971(1920):169).

According to the *Pasupata mata*, it is the individual perceiver to whom things are proved by means of the *pramanas*. The object of the *pramana* is five fold, viz, *karya, karana, yoga, vidhi* and the dissolution of sorrow. Awareness or thought product is called *samvid, samchintana* or *sambhodha.* It is through these the knowledge is revealed. The process of knowledge continues from the first moment of inception to the completion of knowledge.

Chitta and *Pramana*

Patanjali explains five states of *vrttis* (modification or form) of *Chitta*[21] in *Yoga-sutra* (1.2). These *vrttis* are five viz. *Pramana, Viparyaya, Vikalpa, Nidra* and *Smriti* (1.6). The *pramanas* are three viz. *pratyaksha, anumana* and *agama* (1.7). *Viparyaya* is illusory knowledge i.e. knowledge of a thing not in its real state (1.8). The knowledge through *sabda* without the existence of the thing is *vikalpa. Nidra* is the *vrtti* taking the support of non-existence (*abhava*) (1.10). The manifestation of the knowledge gained through experience is *smrti* (1.11). The *vrttis* are said to be of two types *klishta* and *aklishta*. The former is the one which strengthens the false knowledge where as the latter helps in the removal of the false knowledge (1.5). As explained earlier Jayatirtha explained *chitta* as superior, middling and inferior (*uttama-madhyamadhama*) and vrtti as three fold pramanas. *Kevala pramana* is said to be two fold as *Chaitanya* (consciousness) and its *vrtti* (states).

Vacḥaspati Misra takes the *chitta* of *yoga* to be same as the *Buddhi* of *sankhya* (chitta *sasabdena antahkarana buddhim upalakshayati*). *Buddhi* or *chitta* signifies an act, the mental act of apprehension (*Buddhi grahana rupa*). According to the Bhasvati, this act of apprehension or knowing is blended with the content apprehended, the object known of which it is a constituent. But the act of apprehension can by itself, separately grasped. It further points out that such apprehension or knowing leaves behind its traces called *sanskara (grahanam cha pradhanyat agrihatsya upadanam/tasya upadansya api asti anubhavah sanskarah)*. These traces or impression of previous experience, these *sankaras* constitute an element in the consciousness of objects, in being indirectly in the objects that are

[21] *Chitta* can be understood as consciousness. It has to be understood as modes, manifestations and modifications of consciousness also. Hence *chitta* is consciousness, its mode, manifestation and modification. *Patanjala Yoga-sutra*, Gita (3.30; 4.2.21, 23), Vachaspati Misra, Jayatirtha, Bhasavati, etc. use *chitta* in the sense of consciousness itself. *Chitta* is in no way static conception.

remembered, they also colour the ways of knowing or sources of cognition, and they thus influence the operation of *chitta* (*buddhi*), (*tadrisa sanskaranam smritih gaunabhavena upadanarupe anadhigata vishaye pramane buddhau va tishthati*). *Sanskaras*, therefore, complete knowledge and give it a form.

All these acts of knowing , *pramana*, *anumana*, and the like, on the part of the *chitta* are called its *vrittis*, because by these the *chitta* lives, just as the twice born jatis live by performing *yajna (yaih pramanadi lakshana vyaparaih chittam jivati te tad vrittaya uchyante dvijadinam yajanadivat*).[22]

The basis of all means of valid cognition (*pramanas*), of all evidencing is consciousness. While the *pramanas* serve both as orginating causes of true cognition and means of critical appraisal of cognitive claims, for almost all *darsanas* the ultimate ground for all evidence, the source of all establishment (*siddhi*) is consciousness (*Chitta*), without which no being or non-being could be asserted ordained and there would be a universal darkness *(jagadanadhya prasanga*). However, this consciousness is neutral as against true (*prama*) and falsity (*aprama*), it establishes both (Mohanty 1992: 232). Cognition issues in practical, actional response (*pravrtta)* and ultimate guarantee of truth of cognition is practical success. According to the *Advaita mata* as held by *Dasnami sampradaya* consciousness expresses itself through different modifications of *antahkarana*.[23]

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[22] vide, Mookerji, p.301.

[23] The *antahharana* is situated within body, which it thoroughly pervades. It is made up of the *sattva* parts of the five rudimentary elements, and being thoroughly transparent, comes into touch with the sense objects through the specific senses and assumes their forms. It being a material stuff, there is one part inside the body, another part in touch with the sense objects and a third part between the two and connected with them both as one whole. The interior part of the *antahkarana* is the ego or the agent. The intervening part has the action of knowledge, called also *Vrtti jnana*. The third part, which at the time of cognition is transformed into the form of sense objects, has the function of making them manifested in knowledge as its objects. The *antahkarana* of three parts being transparent, pure consciousness can well be manifested in it. Though pure consciousness is one, yet it manifests the three different parts of the *antahkarna* in three different ways, as the cognizer (*pramatr*), cognitive operation (*pramana*) and the cognition of percept (*pramiti*). In each of the cases the reality is part of the pure consciousness, as it express itself through the three different modifications of the *antahkarana*. The sense objects in themselves are but the veiled pure consciousness, *Brahma*, as forming their substance. The difference between individual consciousness *(jiva chaitanya)* and the *Brahma* consciousness (*Brahma chaitnya*) is that the former represents pure consciousness, as conditioned by or reflected through the *antahkarana* while the latter is the unentangled infinite consciousness, on the basis of which all the cosmic creations of *maya* are made (Dasgupta 1975(1922):76-77).. Dasgupta refers to Madhsudana Saraswati-*Siddhanta-bindu* and Brahmananda Saraswati *Nyaya ratnavali. Antahkarana, chitta* and *manas* are similar concepts.

None of the *pramanas* can work without consciousness. In fact because of this various *darsanas* regard *pramana* itself as a modality of consciousness. How could that which is to produce true cognition be other than, in its nature, cognition itself i.e. other than consciousness? The best example of such a theory is to be met within *Advaita Vedanta* theory of knowledge as explained by Daharamadvajarindra in his *Vedanta-paribhasha* .*Nyaya vaiseshika* would consider the *pramana* for perceptual knowledge, in the casual sense, to consist in appropriate mode of contact (*sannikarsha*) of approximate sense organ (*indriya*) with the object perceived. The *Vedanta-paribhasha* defines *pratyaksha pramana* to be none other than consciousness itself [24](Mohanty 1992:236).

The word *pramana* is used in two senses. Firstly it means valid knowledge, secondly it means instruments by which valid knowledge is produced. *Pramana* as valid knowledge is defined by Venkat as the knowledge which corresponds to or produces a behaviour leading to an experience of things as they are (*yatha vasthitavyavahara nugunam*)[25]. The definition includes beahviour as an indispensable condition of *pramana* such that, even though in a particular case a behaviour may not actually be induced, it may yet be *pramana* if knowledge be such that it has the capacity of producing a behaviour which would tally with things as they are[26] (Dasgupta 1968(1940):237). Secondly as instrument or means of valid knowledge *pramanas* are many (to be enumerated later).

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[24] The fundamental nature of consciousness (*Chitta*) which almost every *darsana* (except the *Charvaka*) recognizes its evidential role, but not its alleged constitutive role. The point should be correctly understood, for otherwise a streak of realism that in various degree, runs through the thought (except Buddhist *Vijnanavada*) would be lost sight of (Mohanty 1992:236).

[25] *Nyaya-parisuddhi*, by Venkatanatha, vide Dasgupta, HIP, Vol.-III, p.237.

[26] *anugun apadam vyavahara jnana svarupa yogya param tena janita vyavahare yatha-rtha jnana-viseshe na vyaptih*. Srinivasa's *Nyaya sara* on *Nyaya parsuddhi*, vide. ibid.

***Pramana Vihetana* (Deconstructing Pramanas)**

Nagarjuna raises some basic issues regarding *pramanas*[27]. He argues that if we claim that we have means of knowing (*pramana*) the way the world is; or if we believe that we have such means available to us, it stands to reason to ask further: How do we know those means of knowing ? In the words of Nagarajuna: If the proof of the *pramanas* were by means of other *pramanas*, then there would be *anavastha dosha*[28] (infinite regress). There would be no proof of the first, nor of the middle, nor of the last (Matilal 1986:50).

We find in Nagarujuna, a *Madhyamika Baudha* a full fledged and systematic sceptical challange to a theory of knowledge that tries to articulate a notion of 'knowledge' and 'knowables' by referring to various accredited ways or means of knowing i.e. *pramana*. Nagarajuna was followed by, in this regard by Jayarasi and Sriharsha. There were also *Advaitis* who were always critical of *pramanas* (Matilal 1986:27). Matilal recognizes two distinct streams in the "philosophic traditiion of India". One is illustrated by "*pramana-prameya* doctrine" and the other by total scepticism about the adequacy or validity of it.

Sriharsha after showing that it is impossible to define *prama* (right cognition) tries to demonstrate that it is impossible to define the idea of instruments (*karana*) or their operative action (*vyapara*) as insolved in the idea of instruments of cognition (*pramana*). Sriharsha

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[27]Nagarjuna had raised serious doubts over the efficacy of the pramana.To Nagarujana is attributed the composition of logical treatise called *pramana-vihetana* or *pramana vidhvansana*, which literally means "the quelling of *pramana*" and which is review of the definitions of the sixteen categories as given in Akshapada's *Nyaya-sutra*. Vide Vidyabhushan, p.257.

[28] *Anavastha dosha* in context of *anumana* has been explained in Sarvadarsana-sangraha (1.2.): In order to prove an *anumana*, we will need another *anumana* and then again and again causing *anavastha dosha*.

There are other *doshas* as well, e.g. *Anyonyasraya dosha*: when two things are proved on the basis of one another (*Sarvadarsana sangraha*, p.14). *Atmasraya dosha*: when anything is proved on the basis of itself (ibid) *Chakraka dosha*: circular argument moving within two or more things. (ibid).

attempts to show that intrumentality as an agent cannot be seperately concieved as having an independent existence, since it is different to ditermine its seperate existence[29], (Dasgupta 1975(1922):137).

Jayatirtha, of *Madhva sampradaya* (*dvaita mata*) in context of debate with *Dasnami sampradaya (Advaita mata)* tries to overcome the deconstruction of *pramana* making all knowledge impossible. Negation of *pramana* means negation of knowledge itself, negation of dialogue and debate. Jayatirtha says, it remains an undeniable fact that, if the proofs do not exist, nothing at all can be proved by such non-existing entities. Either the *pramanas* exist or they do not; there is no middle course. If they are not admitted to be existent, they cannot prove anything. One cannot say that one will be indifferent with regard to existence or non-existence of *pramanas* and still carry on a discussion merely as a passive debator; for our very form of thought is such that they have either to be admitted as existent or not. One cannot continue to suspend one's judgement regarding their existence or non-existence and still deal with them in carrying a discussion[30]. One may not have thought of it before entering a discussion; but once carrying a discussion, the position is such that it is easy to raise the point and then one is bound to admit it or to give up the discussion (ibid : 1966(1949): 116).

The *Dasnami sampradaya* following the *Advaita mata* propounds that the functions of *pramanas*, which too are mere processes of ignorance, *ajnana* or *avidya*, consist only in the removal of obstructions vieling the illumination of the self-luminous consciousness, just as the digging of a well means the removal of all earth that was obstructing the omnipresent

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[30] *Sattvasatve vihaya pramana svarupasya buddhau aropitam asakyatvena udasinasya tat svikaranupapatteh. Nyaya sudha*, Vide Dasgupta, HIP Vol.IV, p.116.

akasa or space; the *pramanas* have thus no function of manifesting the self luminous consciousness, and only remove the veiling *ajnana*[31].

Pramanayavada

Pramanya vad , literally is theory of validity i.e the capacity of *pramanas* to prove, their validity or invalidity in determining the true meaning of *pramana* (the means of valid cognition) one must understand the true meaning of word *prama* (valid knowledge). *Prama* or valid knowledge is the knowledge of a thing as it is, it is the knowledge of the "generic nature" as abiding in its own subject, that is, abiding in every one of its individual embodiments. For instance to know a piece of silver, to be as such is valid knowledge is as much as "silverness", which is a generic nature really abides in the individual silver which is its subject (Vidyabhushan 1976 (1920):408)

Two questions arise here: 1) From where is the validity of knowledge derived ? and 2) How are we conscious of the validity ? To the first question *mimansakas* (Prabhakaras) reply by saying that knowledge derives its validity from its own general grounds(or causes). As to the second question they say that knowledge is self evident, that is the very grounds, out of which arises consciousness of knowledge, produce,also the consciousness of its validity, and this consciousness of validity prompts us to activity[32].

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[31] Dasgupta, V-II,p.204. Dasgupta refers to Vimuktatman. Vimuktatman, not later than the early years of thirteenth century wrote *Ishta-siddhi*, Mudhusudana Saraswati in his *Advata-siddhi* and Ramadvaya in his *Vedanta Kaumudi* of the 14th century quote from it. It was commented upon by Jnanottama, the teacher of Chitsukha, and this commentary was called *Ishta-siddhi Vyakhya or Ishta-siddhi-vivarana*, later than the later half of the thirteenth century. Vimuktatmana wrote also another work called *Pramana-vrtti-nirnaya* to which he refers in his *Ishta-siddhi*. Dasgupta writes through the manuscript from the Adyar library.

[32] Gangesa opposes the first reply by saying that if the validity of knowledge were derived from the general grounds of knowledge itself, then invalid knowledge would have been identical with valid knowledge. The second reply is also opposed on the ground that if we were conscious of the validity of knowledge along with our consciousness of knowledge itself, there could not have arisen in us doubt with regard to the validity of any kind of knowledge specially in the unhabitual condition. Vide Vidyabhushan, pp.408-409.

Pramanya with *mimansa* meant the capacity that knowledge has to goad us to practical action in accordance with it, but with Vedanta it meant correctness of facts and want of contradictions. The absence of *dosha* being guaranteed there is nothing which can vitiate the correctness of knowledge (Dasgupta 1963 (1922):485).

Parthasarthi distinguishes between the terms *satyatva* and *pramanya*. Suppose there are two persons, one asserting "there is Indra" and the other asserting "there is no Indra". These two propositions are contradictory to each other, so that according to the law of included middle, only one of them must be true. Parthasarthi says that one of them must be *satya*, but, as there is no certitude (*nirnayakatva*) as to which of them is true, there can be no *pramanya*. Thus *satyatva* is not indentical with *pramanya*. The latter term implies the former, but the former does not imply the latter. We take the term truth as a substitute for *satyatva* and validity for *pramanya*. But validity does not here stand for formal consistency in which sense it is used in logic.

Kumarila defines valid knowledge in following verse: *Tasmat drdhamyadut pannamnapisamvadamruhati jnantarena vijnanam tatpramanam pratiyatam* (Sv, 2.80).The question of *pramannya* gave rise to two *matas*, the *Nyaya mata* of *paratah-pramanya* and the Mimansa mata of *svatah-pramanya*. The *paratah-pramanya mata* declares that truth is an extrinsic property of knowledge, since it depends on the presence of excellences in the causes of knowledge, and that it is known through certain extraneous tests (Bhatt 1989 (1962):415).

Primarily concerned in interpreting the *vedic* texts, the *Mimansa* is led on to questions of "Reality and knowledge" in support of its contentions. It formulated the "doctrine of self validity (*Svatah-pramanya*) of all knowledge including *Sabda* (verbal testimony) because any other position according to it is not plausible, and is even unreasonable". The factors which

engender knowledge are the only necessary and sufficient conditions which also constitute its validity. No extra or external considerations such as correspondence, coherence or successful activity are required. Each knowledge is also known as valid the moment the knowledge occurs *(jnapta pramanyam svatah)*[33].

According to the *Jaina mata* the *mimansa* view that the *pramanya* of all knowledge is proved by knowledge itself (*savtahiramanya*) is wrong. Both "logically" and "psychologically" the validity of knowledge depends upon outward correspondence (*samvada*) with facts. But in those cases where by previous knowledge of correspondence "a right belief has been produced there may be a psychological ascertainment of validity" without reference to objective facts *(pramanyamut pattave parata eva jnaptau svakarya paratascha abhyasanabhyasapekshena)*[34]. *Sankhya* holds that both validity and invalidity of any cognition depends upon the cognitive state itself and not on correspondence with external facts or objects (*svatah pramanyam svatah apramanyam)*[35].

Baudha objection to *svatahpramanya* is that when the *mimansakas* admits the self luminous character of cognition, why it should at the same time be held to be inferred. *Salikanatha, a Bauddha*, further points out that because *pramana* and *phala*[36] i.e. means and the result are identical, it is wrong to hold that, *pramana* is inferred and *phala* is self revealed[37].

According to the *Madhva mata svatah pramanya* means the consideratiion of any knowledge as valid by "the intuitive agent (*sakshi*) which experience that knowledge without

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[33] T.R.V.Murti in foreword to Govaredhan P.Bhatt, *The Basic Ways of Knowing*, p.viii. Refer, *Vedanta paribhasha, Sikhamani, Maniprabha* and Chitasukha on *Svatahpramanya.*

[34] *Prameyakamalamartanda*, vide Dasgupta, HIP Vol. VI, p.188.

[35] Ibid. p.268.

[36] *Prama* is called *pramana phala* among *Baudhas.*

[37] Vide Govardhan P. Bhat,*The Basic Ways of Knowing*, p.58. The view is criticised by Kumarila in *Sloka-varttika.*

being kindered by any defects or any other sources of obstruction[38]. *Nimbarka mata* admits *svatah pramanya* in *Advaiti* manner. It is defined as the fact that in the absence of any defect and assemblage forming *samagri* of cognition produces a cognition that represents its nature as it is (*dosha bhavatve yavatsva sraya bhuta pramagrahaka samagri matra grahyatvam*)[39]. Just as the eye when it perceives a coloured object perceives also the colours and forms associated with it, so it takes with the cognition of an object also the validity of such a cognition (Dasgupta 1968 (1940):428). This *mata* is followed by *Sanak* or *Nimbarka sampradaya.*

Ganges a concludes that *pramanya* of knowledge is not derived from its general grounds (or causes). It is according to him derived through its special cause called instrument. Our consciousness of the validity of a particular knowledge arises therefore from our consciousness of the fruitful correspondence or harmony between the particular knowledge (idea) and the activity which it leads to (Vidyabhushana 1971(1920):409).

Different *Pramanas*

The different *pramans* as discussed in various *darsanas* are as following:

Pratyaksha Pramana

Akshapada defines *pratyaksha* as a non eroneous cognition produced by the sannikarsha (intercourse) of the sense organs with objects, which is definite and independent of verbal expression[40]. *Vatsyayana* in *Bhashya* (on i.1.3) define *pratyaksha* as the *vrtti* i.e.

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[38] *Doshady apratiruddhena jnana-grahaka-sakshina svatastvam jnanamantvanirniti niyamo hi nah. Yukti mallika* (I.3.II).Vide Dasgupta HIP Vol. V-IV,p.168.

[39] *Para-paksha-giri-vajra*, vide Dasgupta, HIP Vol.V-III,P.428.

[40] *indriyartha sannikarshotpanna jnanam avyapadesyama vyabhichari vyavasayatmakam pratyaksham* (Nyay-sutra, 1.1.4)

vyapara (function) of each *aksha*, i.e. *indriya* (sense organ) in respect of appropriate object. Such a function is the nature of either contact or cognition, when the function is of the nature of contact, the result is the valid cognition in the form of *pratyaksha*.

The term *avyapadesyam* in the definition of Askhapada (i.1.4) has been interpreted in diverse ways. Vatsyayana and Uddyotkara take it to mean "non-verbal' while Vachaspati Misra interprets it as meaning "non-inferential". Jayanta takes *indriyarthasannikarshotpannam jnanam avyabhichari pratyaksham* as containing the definition *of pratyaksha and avyapadesyam vyarasayatmakam* as stating the two kinds of *pratyaksha*, i.e. *nirvikalpaka* (indeterminate) and *savikalpaka* (determinate) (Bhatt 1989(1962):252).

Dinnaga defines *pratyaksha* as a cognition that is free from *nama* (name)[41], (generic property jati, etc. Dharmakirti sees *pratyaksha* to be free from *kalpna* (conception) and error, meaning by *kalpna* cognition of whatever is "capable of acquiring as related to linguistic expression". Free from all that can be named, *pratyaksha* according to *Dharmakirti* presents only the bare particular which is 'its own nature' (*svalakshana*) and which is radically different from that which possesses a nature common to many (*samanyalakshana*) (Mohanty 1992:239).

Pratyaksha is defined by Venkatanatha as direct intiuitive knowledge (*sakshatkari prama*). This may be regarded either as a special class of cognition (*jati rupa*) or knowledge under special conditions (*upadhi rupa*). It is indefinable in its own nature, which can only be felt by special self consciousness as *pratyaksha (jnana svabhava viseshah svatma sakshikah*

[41] Vide Dasgupta, HIP, V-III, pp.220-221.

(Dasgupta 1968(1940):216). Meghnadri also defines *pratyaksha* as direct knowledge of objects (*artha parichhedaka sakshat jnanam*). The directness (*sakshnattva*) consists in the fact that the production of this knowledge does not depend on any other *pramanas* (ibid:217).

Ramanuja defines *pratyaksha* as knowledge directly and indirectly experienced (*sakshat karini prama pratyaksham*). The special distinguishing feature of *pratyaksha* is that it is not cognition mediated by other cognition (*jnana karnaka jnatvam*),. *Pratyaksha* is of three kinds: *Deva pratyaksha, pratyaksha* of *Yogis*, and the *pratyaksha* of oridinary persons. *Yogi Pratyaksha* includes *manas pratyaksha* (intutive perception of mind), *arsha pratyaksha* (*pratyaksha of Rishis*). *Yogi Pratyaksha* is due to the special enlightenment of the *yoga sadhana*. During *anvekshana*, it was mentioned by a *sadhu*, that *sadhus* acquire a vision due to *sadhana*, which enables to realize certain experiences which ordinary persons cannot. A case of *Yogi pratyaksha.*

Ordinary *pratyaksha* is said to be of two kinds, *savikalpa* or determinate and *nirvikalpa* or indeterminate. *Savikalpa pratyaksha* is the determinate perception which involves a spatial and temporal reference to part time and different places where the object was experienced before. When we see jug, we think of it as having seen at other times and in other places, and it is this reference of the jug to other times and other places, and the associations connected with it as involved in such reference, that constitutes the deterministic character of such *pratyaksha* by virtue of which they are called *savikalpa*[42]. A *pratyaksha*, however which reveals the specific character of its objects, say jug as a jug, without involving any direct reference to its past associations, is called *nirvikalpa jnana*. Ramanuja's conception

[42] *Ramanuja-siddhanta-sangraha*, vide ibid.

of nirvikalpa jnana distinguishes from *nirvikalpa pratyaksha* of the other *darsanas* (Dasgupta 1968(1940):220-221). This *mata* is followed by *Sri or Ramanuja sampradaya.*

Prabhakara defines *pratyaksha* as *sakshat pratitih* direct apprehension pertaining to the apprehended object, to the apprehending person and to the apprehension itself; that is to say, in each act of *pratyaksha*, the ideas of each of these three enters as its constituent factor. This distinctive feature of the Prabhakara is called the *Triputipratyakshavada (*Jha 1978).

Gangesa in *Tattva chintamani* distinguishes between *laukika pratyaksha and alaukika pratyaksha.* In *laukiska pratyaksha, pratyaksha* ordinarly signifies perceptual knowledge or rather the means by which we derive perceptual knowledge does some times stand for the whole process in which senses in intercourse (*sannikarsha*) with its object produces knowledge. The senses are six viz. 1) the eye, 2) the ear, 3) the nose, 4) the tongue, 5) the tactual surface, and 6) the mind. Their objects are respectively the following 1) colour, 2) sound , 3) odour 4) savour 5) touch (of warmth, coldness, hardness, softness, etc), and 6) feeling of pleasure, pain etc. Correspondent with the senses there are six kinds of knowledge (perception) viz. the visual, auditory olfactory, gustatory, tactual and mental (internal)[43].

Alaukika pratyaksha is produced through an intercourse (*sannikarsha*) which is transcedent. The *alaukika sannikarsha* is of three kinds viz 1) the *sannikarsha* whose character is general (*samanya lakshana*); 2) the *sannikarsha* whose intercourse is knowledge (*jnana lakshana*); and 3) the *sannikarsha* which is produced by mediation (yogaja) (Vidyaabhushana 1971(1920):412).

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[43] Vidyabhushan, p.411. In connection with sense organs, Prabhakara in *Prakarana-panchika* raises some interesting questions. How do you prove the existence of these organs ? What reasons are there for postulating the number as six only ? In course of the enquiry, we have a closely reasoned analytical proof of existence of sense organs. Jha. p.33.

Sarva darsana sanigraha mentions of two types of *pratyaksha, Bahya* (external) and *Antara* (internal). Former can be quantified and measured while the latter is empirical.

Anumana

Vatsyayana says that *anumana* inference is the after knowledge (*anu*=after, *mana*=knowledge) of an object as the probandum (*lingi-artha*) through a probans (*linga*) rightly ascertained (*mita*). Akshpada in *Nyaya sutra* (1.1.5) says :

> Next (is discussed) *anumana* (inference) which is preceded by it (*tat-purvaka*) i.e. by *pratyaksha*, and is of three kinds namely *purvavat* (i.e. having the antecedent as the probans), seshavata (i.e. having the consequent as the probans), and *samayatodrshta* (i.e. where the *vyapti* is ascertained by general observation).

Vatsyayana bhashya on the above *sutra* says:

> By the expression `preceded' by it is meant the perception of the (invariable) relation between the probans and the probandum (*linga linginoh sambandha darsanam*) as well as `the perception of the invariably related probans and the probandum is meant the recollection of the probans (*linga-smrti*).Though this recollection and the perception of the probans is inferred the object which at that time is not directly cognized (*a-pratyaksha*).
>
> Now *purvavat*: when the effects inferred from its cause, e.g. from the rising cloud (it is inferred that) it will rain. *Seshavat*: when the cause is inferred from its effect. On percieving the water of the river as different from what it was before (and further pursuing) the fullness of the river and the swiftness of the current, it is inferred that there was rain. *Samanyatodrshta*: the perception of an object at some place which was previously seen somwhere else due to its movement; so also that of the sun. Therefore (it is inferred that), though imperceptible the sun has movement[44].

From the definition of inference it follows that there cannot be less than three terms and three propositions in it. The three terms are : the *paksha*, the *vyapya* and the *vyapaka*. These correspond respectively to the minor, middle and major terms of syllogism. The *paksha* is the substratum possessing the *vyapya* and *vyapaka*, the former being a thing already known and the lattter one which is yet to be known. The hill for instance in which smoke is perceived

[44] According to *Pasupata mata anumana* is of two kinds, *drshta* (perceived) and *samanyotodrshta* (perceived through universals).-The first again is of two kinds *purvavat* and *seshvata*. Dasgupta, HIP, Vol.V,P.135.

and fire is inferred is the *paksha*. The *vyapya* is also called *gamaka, linga, hetu, sadhana* and *niyama*. In the common example of inference smoke is *vyapya*. It is also called *gamaka* because it leads to the knowledge of something because it is a sign of indicator of that thing and hence it is called *linga*. Smoke is the sign of the prescence of fire so that whenever we observe smoke we know the presence of fire. Smoke is the *ratio cognoscendi*, i.e., the reason of our knowledge of fire. Therefore, it is called *hetu* or reason. Smoke is not *ratio ascendi* or the cause of the existence of fire, because actually fire is the cause of the existence of smoke. The middle term is called *sadhana* because it is the means of proving the major term. The major term is called *`vyapaka'*, *`gamaya'*, *`lingin'*, *`sadhya'* and *`niyamaka'*. It is called *gamaya* because it is known with the help of the middle term which is its *gamaka*. It is the *lingin* or the possesor of the *linga* or sign. It is *sadhya* because it is sought to be proved by means of *sadhana*. The words *`sadhana'* and *`sadhya'* are generally translated as `probans' and `probandum' (Bhatt 1989(1962):210).

At the beginning of the chapter we had mentioned the five steps of the *Nyaya sutra* while elaborating the constituents of *vada*. The first step is the statement of thesis, the second statemernt of reason or evidence, the third citation of an example (a particular case, well recognised and exceptable to both sides) that illustrates the underlying (general) principle and thereby supports the reason or evidence. The fourth is the showing of the present thesis as a case that belongs to the general case, for reason or evidence is essentially similar to example cited. The fifth is the assertion of the thesis again as proven or established [45](Matilal 1992:4).

We illustrate the five steps:

Step 1. There is fire on the hill.
Step 2. For there is smoke

[45] .The *Mimansakas* rejects the *Naiyayika's* five membered *anumana* on the basis that it involves unnecessary repitition. Restatement is a dosha (fault). To state too much is as to state too little. In *anumana* only three propositions are needed, neither more nor less. Bhatt, Goverdhan P., *The Basic Ways of Knowing*, p.213.

Step 3. (wherever there is smoke there is fire), as in the kitchen.
Step 4. This is such a case (smoke on the hill)
Step 5. Therefore it is so, i.e. there is fire on the hill.

Upamana

Upamana as an independent *pramana* has been recognised by *Mimansa*, *Nyaya* and *Advaita Vedanta*. According to *Nyaya sutra* (1.1.6): *Upamana* is the instrument of valid knowledge of an object derived through its similarity with another well known (*prasiddha*) object. Vatsyayana providing the etymological meaning says (on *Nyaya-sutra* 1.1.3):

> *Upamana* (*upa*=contiguous, *mana*=knowledge) the knowledge of contiguity (*samipya*). e.g. the *gavaya* is just like the cow. Contiguity means the posession of common characteristics (*samanya yoga*).

Vatsyana's Bhashya (on 1.1.6) says:

> *Upamana* is `definitie knowledge' (*prajnapana*) of the `object sought to be definitely known' (*prajnapaniya*) through its similarity with an object already well known:

Sabda

Aptopdesah sabdah (Nyaya-sutra 1.1.7) i.e. *Sabda* is the communication *(upadesa)* from a trustworthy person (*apta*). 1.1.8 says: That (*sabda as pramana*) of two kinds are *drshtartha* (perceptible) and *adrshtartha* (imperceptible).

Vatsyana in his *bhashya* on these two sutras says:

> A trustworthy person is the speaker who has the direct knowledge of an object and is motivated by the desire of communicating the object as directly known by him. *Apti* means the direct knowledge of an object; an apta is one who employs it. This definition (of a trustworthy person) is equally applicable to *rshi*, *arya* and *mlechha*. The object of which is attainable in this world is the one `having perceptible objects' (*drshtartha*) and the object of which is attainable in the other world is the one having imperceptible objects (*adrshtartha*).

In his *varttika* on *Nyaya bhashya* on *Nyaya-sutra* (2.1.48) Uddyotkara anticipates three objections against the view that *Sabda* is *pramana*. These three are: that sabda does not always (e.g. if it is not heard) produce knowledge; that it does not have an object (*vishaya-bhavat*) which is not presented by either *pratyaksha or anumana*; and that, not being of the nature of cognition, it does not inhere in the *atma (atmani asmavayat)*. To these three objections Udyotkara gives the following reply: *sabda* produces knowledge when experienced or heard; there is no rule that there is no object other than what is known by *pratyaksha* and *anumana*; it is also not necessary that to be a *pramana* something must inhere in *atma*[46].

Sabda pramana is reffered as `*Sruti pramana* also. Sankracharya observes:

> *Na dharmajijnasaymiva srtuyadayo eva pramanam brahmajijnasayam kintu srutyadayo nubhavadayaseha yathasambhavamiha pramanam; anubhavavasanatvat bhutavastuvis ayatvachha brahmajijnasa* (*Sankara-bhashya* 1.1.2).

> *Sruti* as well as *anubhava* (direct realisation) is *pramana*, in as much as the knowledge of Brahma culminates in realisation, and has, as its object, an accomplished fact. The authority of the *Sruti* is, again, not foreign imposition having no relation to experience of the *guru*, which the *sishya* is expected to realise in due course when he attains considerable progress in *sadhana*.[47]

Arthapati

Sabara defines *arthapatti* as:

> the presumption of something not seen on the ground that as fact already perceived or heard would not be possible without that presumption; for instance, it is found that Devadatta who is alive is not in the house, and this non-existence in the house leads to the presumption that he is somewhere outside the house[48].

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[46] Commenting on this Mohanty (1992) write:
The first and the last are acceptable. It is to the second that we need to attend. What are those objects which are neither possible objects of perception nor possible objects of inference?
Let us not forget that the *Nyaya* as also the other schools of philosophy who are committed to *sabda pramana*, do not believe in the thesis that there is a fixed arrangement of *pramanas* (*pramansyavastha*).In other words, they believe that one and the same thing can be known by one or more of the pramanas. In order to prove that there is some object or some type of object which is known by *sabda* but not by other *pramanas*. But should there be some such object, the case *for sabda pramana* gets an additional support. (p.250).

[47] Cf.*Nirvikalpa Pratyaksha* and *Alaukika Pratyaksha*. For the *sadhana* aspect refer, Nalini Kant Brahma, *The Philosophy of Hindu Sadhana*.

[48] *arthapattivapi drshtah sruto varthonyatha nopapadyate ityarthakalpana; yatha jivato devadattasya grha bhavadas anena bahirbhavgyadrshtasya parikalpana. Sabara bhashya*, Dasgupta, HIP, Vol.II, p.384; defines *arthapatti* as implication, "when on making a statement some other thing which was not said becomes also stated; it is a "case of implication".

Kumarila elaborates on the difference of *arthapati* from other *pramanas* in the presence of inexplicability in some observed or well ascertained fact. Parthasarthi says that when one observes that a well ascertained fact cannot be explained without any other fact, one presumes the latter in order to account for the former and this presumption is *arthapatti* (Bhatt 1989(1962):305). Sabara enumerates two types of *arthapati*, viz. 1) *drstarthapati* and 2) *svarthapatti. Kumarila* enumerates five types of *drshtarthapatti*, viz 1) *pratyaksha*, 2) *anumana 3) upamana, 4) arthapati* and 5) abhava (non apprehension or negation)[49].

Abhava* or *Anupalabdhi

That from which there is communication of the negation or non-existence of anything is regarded as the *pramana* of *abhava* or *anupalabdhi*,. Kumarila classifies four groups of *abhava*: viz. 1) *pragbhava* (prior negation), 2) *pradhvansabhava* (posterior negation), 3) *anyonyabhava* (mutual negation) and 4) *atyantabhava* (absolute negation).

The negation of an effect, e.g. curds, in its cause, viz. milk prior to its birth is an instance of *pragabhava*. In *pradhvansa bhava*, there is negation of a cause in its effect after the production of the latter. The non-existence of a thing after its destruction is a negative fact. The non existence of a man after his death is a fact of second kind. A cow is not a horse and horse is not a cow. The paper which is blue in colour is not at the same time green, and another which is green is not blue. These are the,cases of *anyonyabhava*. The non-existence of a sky flower, the absence of horns on a donkey's skull etc. are instances of *atyantabhava* i.e. negation of the entity in all times[50].

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[49] For a brief description, refer, Bhatt, Govardhan P., *Basic Ways of Knowing*.

[50] For a brief description, refer, ibid.

Aitihya

Aitihya is considedred as being tradition or long standing popular belief, different from *aptodesa*. It literally means *parampara* in several usages.

Smrti

Challari-seshacharya quotes an unidentified text in support of the inclusion of *smrti* in pramana[51]. Jayatirtha says that when an object appears in consciousness to have definite character in a particular time and a particular place, then this knowledge is true or *yathartha*. *Smrti* is directly produced by *manas*, and the *sanskaras* represent its mode of contact with specific objects (*sanskara tu manasa tada artha sannikarsha rupa eva*). It may be objected that, the object referred to by *smrti* having undergone many changes and ceased in the internal to exist in it old state, the present memory cannot take hold of its object[52]; the answer is that the objection would have some force if *manas* unaided by any other instrument, were expected to do it; but this is not so. Just as the sense organs, which are operative only in the present, may yet perform the operation of recognition through the help of *sanskaras*, so that *manas* also may be admitted to refer by the help of the *sanskaras* to an object which has changed its previous state[53].

Meghnadri observes that *smrti* satisfies the indispensable condition of *pramana* that

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[51] Here Jayatirtha refers to the definitions of the *Mimansa* as *anadhigatarthagantr pramanam and as anubhuhtih pramanam*. The first refers to Kumarila's definition and the second to that of Prabhakara. Kumarila defines *pramana* (as found in Chodna sutra 80, *`Sloka-varttika*) as firm knowledge (*drdham vijnanam*) produced (*utapnanam*) and unassociated with other knowledge (*napi jnanantarana samvadam·rchchati)*. The second definition is that of Prabhakara as quoted in Salikanatha's *Prakarana panchika: pramana anubhutih*. Vide Dasgupta, HIP, Vol.IV, p.165.

[52] Salikanatha's, rejection of *smrti* from *pramana* in his *Prakarana panchika* is on the basis that *smrti* is knowledge produced only by the *sanskaras* of the previous knowledge (*purva vijnana sanskara matrajam jnanam*); as such, it depends only on previous knowledge and necessarily refers to past experience and cannot therefore refer independently to the ascertainment of the nature of objects. He excludes recognition (*pratya bhijna*) from *smrti*, as recognition includes in its *samagri* of origin direct sense contact. (Dasgupta 1975 (1922) : 162).

[53] *Pramana paddhati*, vide ibid, p.165.

it must not depend upon anything else for its manifestation. It is true that the revelition of objects in smrti depend on the fact of their having been perceived before, but the functions of *smrti* are spontaneous[54].

Yukti

Yukti is coming to on a conclusion through a series of syllogisms or probablity (*Charaka- sanhita* I.II.17). According to Charaka things are either existent (*sat*) or non-existent (asat) and they can be investigated by four *pramanas*[55], viz. *aptodesa, pratyaksha, anumana* and *yukti.*

Yukti is not counted as separate *pramana* by any other *darsana.* When our intellegence judges a fact by complex wieghing in mind of a number of reasons, causes or considerations, through which one practically attains all that is desirable in life, as virtue, wealth or fruition of desires, we have what may be called *yukti*[56]. As Chakrapani points out, this is not in reality of nature of a sepearate *pramana* but since it helps *pramanas* it is counted as a *pramana.* As an example of *yukti* Charaka mentions the forecasting of a good or bad harvest from the condition of the ground, the estimated amount of rains, climatic conditions and like. Chakrapani says that a case like this, where a conclusion is reached as the combined

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[54] *Sva sphurane pramanantaru sa peksatva bhavat vishaya sphurana eva hi smrteh purva nubhuta bhava peksha.* Meghnadri's *Nyaya dyu mani.*

Venkatnatha (*Nyaya-parisuddhi* holds that it should not be classed as an independent source of knowledge, but is to be included within the *pramana* which is responsible for *smrti* (e.g.) *pratyaksha.* This view has been supported by Bhattarakaguru in his *Tattva-ratnakara.* Varadvishnu Misra, in his *Prajna-paritrana* includes *divya* (i.e. intuiative knowledge through the grace of God) *and svayam siddha* (natural omniscience) as separate sources of knowledge, but they are also but modes of *pratyaksha.* vide, ibid, Vol.III, pp.214-15.

[55] These are collectively called as *pariksha* (examination), *hetu* (reason), or *pramana* (instruments of valid cognition). vide Vidyabhushana, p.28 (*Charaka* defines *hetu* as "the cause of knowledge" *hetur nama upalabdhi karnam*). vide Dasgupta, Vol.II, p.379.

[56] *buddhih pasyati ya bhavan bahu karana yogajan yuktis trikala sa jneya tri vargah sadhayati yaya. Charaka-sanihita,* I.II.25. vide ibid. p.375-376. As given earlier in this chapter, Charaka under *Tantra yukti* enumerates 34 categories, whereas Kautilya enumerates 32.

application of number of reasonings, is properly called *uha*[57] and is current among people by this name. *Uha* is counted as a separate *pramana*. It is in reality an inference of an effect from causes and, as such cannot be used at the present time, and hence it cannot be called *trikala*, valid in all the times, past, present and future, as *Charaka* says (Dasgupta 1975(1922):375-376).

Santarkshita says that, when from the fact that in all cases when A is absent B is also absent one thinks A to be the cause of B, this is regarded by Charaka as the new *pramana yukti*[58]. To this Chakrapani points out that Charaka's idea of *yukti* is the "logic of probability" i.e. when from a number of events, circumstances, or observations one comes to regard a particular judgement as probable, it is called *yukti*, and, as it is different from *anumana* or any other accepted *pramanas*, it is to be counted as a separate *pramana* (ibid).

Tarka

The determining oscillation constituent in mental process leading to *anumana* is called *tarka* (ratiocination). Vatsyayana says that *tarka* is neither included within the accepted pramanas nor is it a sepearate *pramana*, but is a process which helps the *pramanas* to the determination of true knowledge. Kesava Misra, in his *Tarka-bhasha*, is inclined to include it under *sansaya* (doubt). But Annam Bhatt, in his *Tarka-dipika*, says that, though *tarka*

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[57] *Uha* (in the sense of probability such as "that must be a man") does not involve any oscillation of mind between two poles but sets forth the attitude of mind in which the possibility of one side, being for stranger, renders that alternative of an object of the most probable affirmation and so cannot be classed as doubt. Where such a probable affirmation is brought about through *pratyaksha*, it is included under *pratyaksha*, and when through *anumana*, it is included under *anumana*.

[58] Kamalsila finds *anavastha dosha*, (regressive ad infinitum) in *yukti: drshtante py ata evatada bhava bhavitvat karyata pratipatih, tatrapidrshtanto 'nyo' nveshaniyah tatrapy apara ity anavastha* Kamalsila as quoted by Chakrapani on *Charaka-sanhita, I.*11.25. Chakrapani however points out that these criticisms are all beside the point, since *yukti* according to Charaka is not *karya karmata* from *tad bhava bhavita*; it is arriving at conclusion as result of a series of reasonings. Vide Dasgupta, V-II, PP.376-377.

should properly be counted under *viparyaya* (illusiory knowledge), yet since it helps the *pramanas*, it should be seperately counted (Dasgupta 1966(1949): 189).

Tarka is used in the sense of *uha* by Jayanta in *Nyaya manjari*[59]. The function of *tarka* as *uha* consists in weakening the chances of the weak alternative, thereby strengthening the probability of the stronger alternative and so helping the generation of valid knowledge of the certainty of the latter alternative[60].

Uha is with *sankhya* a quality of *buddhi* and with the *Mimansakas* it is a process of application of recognised linguistic maxims for the determination of the sense of words or of sentences (*yukta prayoganiru-panam uhah*).

Sambhava

The *pramana* of *sambhava* may well be regarded as a deductive piece of reasoning[61]. The inclusion of the lower within the higher as often within a hundred is called *sambhava*[62].

Pratibha

Pratibha, according to Bhartrhari is different from *Pratyaksha* and *anumana* and is a means by which we understand the undifferentiated meaning of sentences as a whole. It is a separate *anyaiva* (awareness), not one which is generated by piecing together the fragments of meaning of different words and other constituents of the sentence like an intuition. Matilal observes:

> It is regarded as a flash of understanding which arises spontaneously in all sentient being. It is natural and comparable to the power of intoxication that naturally develops in some liquids when they become mature. This notion in

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[59] Vide Dasgupta, HIP, V-IV, p.189.

[60] The meaning of *tarka* here must be distinguished from *anumana*, which it has in *Brahma sutra* II.I.12 (*tarkapratishthanat...*), and also from its use as *anvikshiki*, one of the fourteen subjects of learning (*Vidyasthana*). *Yajnvalkya smrti*, I.3; also *Nyaya manjari*.Vide Dasgupta,HIP-IV, p.189.

[61] Dasgupta, Vol.III, p. 428.

[62] Ibid., p.426.

> Bhartrhari's discription is comprehensive enough to include matters ranging from the instincts of birds and animals, the spontaneous capacities of newly born babies, and the infants capacity to learn a language, to the intelligence of higher order. Bhartrhari claims that this intuitive knowledge is far more reliable than any other kind of knowledge because it comes from within. It can arise in all sentient beings, for its root cause is the word-principle which is an integral part of sentience and hence present (potentially) in all such biengs. It is because of this principle that newly born babies are able to make the first movement of their vocal chords to utter words and to breathe. This is also how they learn a language (1986:34).

Whether *pratibha* can be taken as a *pramana*, when to mean as means of knowledge and not as proof of knowledge) is debatable. During our *anvekshena*, we found that certain *sadhus* emphasizing that *laukika* (ordinary) pratyaksha need to be verified in the light of *alaukika pratyaksha*, whose source is *pratibha*.

In this chapter we have dealt with categories of cognition and proof which form the cognitive process of ther *darsanic paksha* of *sampradaya*. The cognitive process here emerges and shapes the way of life of the *sadhus* according to the *mata* of their *sampradaya*. As we have seen that *pramana* are merely means to remove the veil on true cognition for *Dasnami sampradaya*, whereas for *Ramanuj sampradaya* it culminates in *Bhakti*.

Nyaya provides a method of argumentation and presentation of the subject under scrutiny, in this case being sampradaya, hence following that in the next chapter we have tried to follow the *uddesa*, *lakshana* and *pariksha*, model of llitrary unfoldment beginning with *sansaya* of what *sampradaya* is ? and finally reaching at *nirnaya* (certitude) that what *sampradaya* is through *pramanas*. Similarly it is applied to subsequent subject of this *prasthana*. The *pramanas* most of time acts as a grammar of language. They are invisible yet one follows them. The statements made are generally on the basis of one *pramana* or the other. Since we referred to *sadhus*, they accepted some of the *pramanas*, while rejected other

as per their *darsanic mata* of the *sampradaya* they followed.

Anviksha (i.e. study based on *anvekshana*) makes use of all the *pramanas*, which have been discussed here with emphasis on *savikalpa pratyaksha* or we can say that all the *pramanas* mentioned here are subject to the *pariksha* of *savikalpa pratyaksha*.

Thus the *pramanas* which do not stand the test of *savikalpa pratyaksha* loose their *pramanya* or validity. It is on the basis this that knowledge grows. *Anvekshana* being the criteria of knowing *sampradayas*, in this study, itself becomes a *pramana* in the sense of instrument of knowledge. It becomes a proof of knowledge, where it verifies and tests the *purvapaksha*.

Chapter IV

Sampradaya
Constitution and *Distinction*

Udyotkara in his *Varttika* on the *Bhashya* of Vatsyayana on the *Nyaya sutra* of Gautama mentions-*sampradayonama shishyopadhyayasambandhasya avichhedena sastrapraptih* i.e. *sampradaya* is an uninterrupted relationship (in succession) of pupils and teachers for acquiring *sastras* (knowledge).[1] *Guruparmpara gata* (through guru Tradition) *sadupdishta* (well taught) group of individuals is *sampradaya*.[2] *Sampradaya* means "tradition established doctrine" (read *mata*) transmitted from one teacher to another.[3] In a traditional sense, when a "religious following" once established is kept up from teacher to teacher "continuously for twenty one generations it is said to be a *sampradaya*."[4]

Sampradaya according to Thoothi is "a way" (*marga*) and "its doctrine" i.e. *mata*; "which justifies the way combined in terms of "a sect or a following" (1935:64). Ramdas Gaud (1938) on the basis of *Mahabharat mimansa* by Chintamani Vinayaka Vaidya mentions five matas as *sampradayas* in *sampradaya khanda* of his text *Hindutva*, viz. *Sankhya*, *Yoga*, *Pancharatra*, *Pasupata* and *Vedanta* referring to the verse in *Mahabharata- sankhyam yogah pancaratram pasupatam tatha jnayetani rajarshe sidhi nana matani vai.*

Meetal defines *sampradaya* as "any specific class or tradition of followers of any

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[1]Mookreji explains the verse as "the uninterrupted ideal succession of pupils and teachers, by which knowledge is conserved and transmitted." (Mookerji 1951 [1947] : xxxi [prologue]).

[2]*Encyclopedia Indica* (see entry *sampradaya*).

[3]Monier-Williams; *A Dictionary of Sanskrit*.

[4]Thooti (1935:88) explains this from N.B. Mehta, *Sakta sampradaya*, Bombay, 1932, p.v.

dharma or *mata*. Within one *dharma* or *mata* there can be several *sampradayas*, e.g. within *Vaishnava mata*, there are *Ramanuji sampradaya, Nimbkarka sampradaya, Madhva sampradaya*, etc. " (1974:145). Sinha and Saraswati define *Sampradaya* as "an established doctrine transmitted from one teacher to another. It also means traditional belief and usages, any peculiar or sectarian system of religious teachings, etc. It connotes a system of religious teaching including the worship of particular diety," (1978:36).

During *anvekshana*, several respondents referred to belonging to certain *dharma*, *sampradaya, pantha* and `*sangha*; and following certain, *mata, marga, achara, dharma, darsana* and *sadhana*. Hence we needed to understand these categories, in light of the textual analysis and respondents meaning given to them, in order to evolve an understanding of *sampradaya*. The most essential feature of *sampradaya* is *guruparmparya*. There connot exist a *sampradaya* without it. *Guruparmparya* and *sampradaya* becomes synonymous at times. The distnctions of *sampradayas* are made on the basis of *mata*. There are different *sampradayas* as there are different matas being followed by in different *guruparamparyas*. There can be different *sampradayas* sprouting from within single *guruparmpraya* e.g. a guru has two *sishyas*, each interpreting in a new way what he learnt through *guruparmparaya*, hence each forms a *gurumparamparya* in the light of new interpretation developing over a period of time into different *sampradaya*. These distinctions occur on the basis of *mata*. It is due to this precise reason that *matas* are also called at times as *sampradaya*. Not all *matas* are *sampradaya*, mata with a *guruparamparya* is *sampradaya*. Among the *sampradayas* there are distinctions of *achara, darsana* and *sadhna*, in the process there can be improvisation in achara or new dimensions given to it..

Guruparamparya

The *guruparamparya* among *sampradayas* exists at two levels, the first is at the level of *sadhu* and the second is at the level of *grhasthas*. We discovered during our *anvekshana* that among *Dasnamis*, a *guru* gives *diksha* to both *sadhu* and the *grhastha*, but a *sadhu* who gets this diksha in turn can give *diksha* to another *sadhu* or *grhastha*, but a *grhastha* inspite of having *diksha* cannot give *diksha* to the other. Hence the right of giving *diksha* lies only with *sadhu*. The *sadhus* and *grhasthas* together form the structure of the *sampradaya*. A *grhastha* who gets *diksha* from a *guru* of particular *sampradaya* alongwith its whole family is considered to belong to that *sampradaya*. The *grhastha* taking *diksha* is called *gurumukha*. The *diksha* is given by uttering a *mantra* into the ear by the mouth (*mukha*) of the *guru* hence *gurumukha*. *Gurumukha grhasthas* constitute an important aspect of *sampradaya*, as it is they who sustain the *sampradaya* at the economic level through charity. The popularity and strength of a *sampradaya* is measured on the basis of its following among the *grhasthas*, which matters at times even more than the number of *sadhus* it has.Shankaracharya in the *Sambhanda-bhasya* at the beginning of his *bhashya* on *Mund.Up.* Mentions of *Vidya-sampradaya* and the *sampradaya* among *grhasthas*.[5]

Katha Upanishad refers to the inevilability of *guru* for the acquistion of knowledge *ananyaprokte gatri atra nasti*). For knowledge one has to approach to *guru*, who is learned in the *Sastras* and is *Brahmajnani* (one knowing the *Brahma*) (*Mund. Up.* 1.2.12). *Chhandogya Upanishad* 6.14.1 mentions that a *guru* is necessary to disperse the mist which one acquires through variety of experiences. Indra (*Ch.U.* 8.7.2) had to live with Prajapati as

[5]refer *Mund. Up.*Gita Press, p.2 & p.4.

a *sishya* (disciple) to acquire the true knowledge. *Guru* is essential for those also who posses knowledge (*Gh. U.*4 14.1). *Upanishads, Dharmasutra, Dharmasastras, Smrtis, Puranas*, etc. are full of the glory, necessisity and improtance of *guru* in individual's life in every sphere of activity.

The *Brhdaranyaka Upanishad, Mahabhashya*, etc. mention of *gurus* attracting *sishyas* from distant lands in order to acquire knowledge.[6] Even in contemporary times as observed by us the flocking of *sishyas* around a *guru* is a common phenomenon. Among the *Dasnamis* the instituion of *mandalesvara*[7] has evolved out of this process.

Guruparampara and *Kulaparmpara* are the two institutions which play the foundational or constitutional role in building up of the various traditions since the first utterances of *Rg-sanhita*. Kailasa Asrama, Rishikesh claims to have preserved the details of all this. *Peethacharya* of the Asrama told us that the pronunciation and other details of the *Sruti* parampara are still with them in pristine form. The *Antevasi* (inmates) of the *asrama* take pride in informing that Swami Vivekananda learnt the rudiments of *Sruti parampara* from them during his stay at the *asrama*.

*Kula-paramp*ara is mentioned as two *kulas*, the *pitr-kula* (the lineage through biological birth) and *guru-kula* (the lineage through spiritual birth). *Guru-kula* is considered to play more important role than *pitr-kula*. *Guru-kula* is a form of *guruparampara*. In the *guru-kula* the *sishya* lives with the family of the *guru* acquiring a twin identity of belonging

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[6]Refer, Mookerji, p 237. p. 260.

[7]Explained in next chapter.

to *pitr-kula* and *guru-kula*.[8] The *sishya* stays with the *guru's* family till the education is completed, after which either he returns to his first-*kula* or the *guru* arranges for the advanced study. The arrangement for advanced study for his *sishya* has been seen in several cases during our stay at Rishikesh. Swami Virendranand Saraswati with whom we stayed was always worried regarding the arrangement for higher studies for his *sishya* Brahmchari Vishvambhar Chaitanya. He arranged it for him in a *gruukula* of Arya Samaj.

During our *anvekshana*, we found that *sadhus* call the two *kulas* mentioned above, particularly *nagas*, as two *vansas* (meaning lineage). One is *virya* or *virjavansa* and another *nada vansa*. In the *virja vansa*, the lineage continues through progeny, in the *nada vansa* the lineage is determined by *gurumukha*. In other words the lineage in *nada vansa* is formed by the *mantra* which the *guru* transmits to his *sishya*. It is on account of this *nada vansa* that the kinship like *guru bhai, guru bhagini, dada guru, kakaguru* etc are used among *sadhus*.[9] Kinship designations are very common among *Chatusampradayas*. The referring of *dada guru* (as *guru* of *guru*) is a common parlance among most of the *sadhus*. Our stay for a few days among the *Ramanandis* during the *ardh-kumbha-mela*,Prayaga. made us feel that we are living in a family due the common use of "kinship terms". Dasnamis, in our *anvekshana*, were not using the categories. At times reference to *dada guru* was made.

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[8]On the institution of *gurukula* Mookerji comments:

the pupil's membership of the family of his *Guru* constitutes a constant stimulus to the ideals he is dedicated, while it also operates as a protective sheath shutting out unwholwsome influences. It operates as a restraining force. Again, the novice feels that he is not lost in a crowd. He feels one of a family where he has a distinct place. Hence there grows in him a sense of personal worth and a placid individuality which a healthy social group always extends, (xx viii). The institution of *guru-kula* is almost vanishing.

[9]Regarding *vansa paramapara*, Sinha and Saraswati observes:

From Narayana to Sukadeva the line of descent is known as *putra-parampara* etc or *veeja vansa*. But Sukadeva starts *sishya-parampara* or *nada-vansa*. It is through line of decent connects his *guru* with *Vishnu* or *Narayana* (pp. 117-118).

It became evidently clear during *anvekshana* that the life of a *sadhu* cannot be imagined without a *guru*. The stature of *guru* is that of *Brahma*, the ultimate reality. It is the *guru* who gives *diksha*, which opens the door of the world to an individual. Individual's life is marked by various *sanskaras* at various stages.[10] The *brahmacharya diksha* is supposed to be the *upanayana sanskara* after which one is referred as born again (*dvija*). The learning life of individual begins from here. The learning of Brahmachari Vishvambhar Chaitanya began after this *sanskara*. Brahmachari Vishvambhar Chaitanya and Brahmachari Anvesh Chaitanya at Surya Ganga Needam and Kailasa Ashram respectively had undertaken *brahmcharya diksha*.After this those who want to pursue further are given *diksha* of *naishthika brahmacharya*, and others enter the *grhastha* life. After the *naisthika brahmacharya* the *sannyasa diksha* is given by the *guru* at appropriate time which is referred as *praisha-mantra sanskara*. As per our *anvekshana nagas* refer it as *virya homa* or *virja-homa sanskara*. This *sanskara* is taken up after the individual performs his own *sradha* and is symbolically dead and leaves *manushya yoni* (to praisha). Swami Virendrananda Saraswati and other *sadhus* told us tha in this *sanskara* the individual sacrifices (symbolically) all the parts, organs of his body and the entire body itself is given as *ahuti* (oblations to the holy fire), the *sadhu* is now stated to be *Brahma*, beyond the fetters of mortal existence.

Adhikara or *Patrata* is essential for an individual for *diksha*. Only those who have shown their fitness, deserved to become fit students (*adhikari*) for *diksha*. Who had the grit and high moral strength to devote their life and rebuilding it in accordance with the higher realizations are prepared to receive the immense and profound experiences. For *diksha* in the

[10]For details refer, *Sanskaratattva*, Herambhachatterjee Sastri, Rajbali Pandey, *Hindu Sanskaras*.

sannyasa asrama, the individual must possess *jijnasa* (pursuit to know) and *mumuksha* (pursuit to be liberated from the fetters of ordinary existence). Only those are the *adhikari* of *diksha* who in them have these two qualities of *jijnasa* and *mumuksha*.

Adhikari of *atmavidya* according to Shankracharya is the one who is intelligent, scholar and adept in argumentation. Only *adhikari* can attain *atma vidya*, time and space can merely be contributery (*Vivekachudamani* IV.14 & 16). [11] During our *anvekshana* we found that few *sadhus* take care of *adhikara* or *patrata* before giving *sannyasa*. But it is also not given easily. As we noticed at Muni ki Reti, and were also informed that first the identity of the person seeking *diksha* is ascertained and family is informed. When there is a consent of family then only the *disksha* is given. *Nagas* in *akharas* maintain a register in which they keep the records of the original name and address of every *sadhu* belonging to their *akhara*. Naga Sanjay Giri told us that inspite of his families refusal to allow him to undertake *sannyasa*, he did it, because he could not be any thing else than the *naga*. Naga Anup Giri had come for *diksha* due to personal tragedy. In both cases *guru* allowed *diksha* after consistent effort on part of both and a prolonged stay. The family of Brahmachari Anvesh Chaitanya and Vishvambara Chaitanya after initial resistence allowed after being convinced by the *guru* of their devine existence.

The *guruparampara* played a very crucial role in the study and growth of *darsanas*. Dasgupta observes:

The tendency of concieving philosophical problems is an important feature of

[11]Those who perform the *Vedic* duties belong to a stage inferior to those who no longer care for the fruits of *Vedic* duties but are eager for final emanicipation, and it is the latter who alone are fit to hear the *Upanishadas* (Dasgupta p.364:31). This is what is called the difference of fitness (*adhikar bheda*). Those who perform the yajnas are not fit to hear the *Upanishadas* and those who are fit to hear the *Upanishadas* have no longer any necessity to perform the *yajnas*. This view is based on *advaita mata* followed by *Dasnami sampradaya*..

> sanskrit thought, but from the ninth century onwards the habit of using clear, definite, and precise expressions, began to develop in a very striking manner a large number of technical terms are seldom properly explained, and it is presupposed that the reader who wants to read the works should have knowledge of them. Anyone in olden times who look to the study of any systems of philosophy, had to do so with a teacher, who explained those terms to him. The teacher himself had got it from his teacher, and he from his. There was no tendency to popularize philosophy, for the idea then prevalent was that only the chosen few who had otherwise shown their fitness deserved to become fit students (*adhikari*) of philosophy under the direction of a teacher. Only those who had the grit and high moral strength to devote their whole life to the true understanding of philosophy and the rebuilding of life in accordance with the high truths of philosophy were allowed to study it (1963 [1922]: 64:2).

Especially in the *Sutra* form of writing one becomes totally dependent on a teacher who understands it and has learnt it through oral traditions for proper understanding[12]. There are hidden allusions to other *darsanas* which can be explained properly by teacher. At the same time the stress points in pronunciation and their resultant change in meaning can also be only understood in its proper context through teacher. *Guruparamparya* hence become an important institution in direction of imparting preserving and transmitting knowledge.

At Dayanand Ashram, Rishikesh, we were told that they have started a course in English on *Vedanta*, and the speciality of the course is that it takes cognizance of the meaning given to the *sutras* in *guraparampara*. One of the classes attended by us, although did not reveal any specific difference from what exists in the books on*Vedanta* in English. But at Kailash Ashram it was different. The whole environment created through oration made one

[12]The systematic treatises were written in short and pregnant sentences (*sutras*) which did not elaborate the subject in detail, but served only to hold before the reader the threads of memory of with which he was already throughly acquainted. It seems, therefore that these pithy half sentences were like lecture hints, intended for those who had direct elaborate instructions on the subject. It is indeed difficult to guess from the *sutras* the extent of their significance, or how far the discussions which they gave rise to in later days were originally intended by them. The *Sutras* of the *Vedanta* system, known as *Sariraka sutras* or *Brahma-sutras* of Badrayana gave rise to more than half a dozen divergent interpretations Dasgupta, HIP,Vol.I,p.62.

feel the vibrations of *mantras* in one's own self, while attempting to recite alongwith fellow *antevasis* (inmates) of the Ashram.

The *sishya* serves and worships *guru* as *Brahma* (absolute). The *guru* for his part takes full responsibility for the life of the *sishya; guru* is supposed to take the bad *karmas* of *sishya* and will feed him, instruct him, guide him. In a way will be is more than his father. The role of *guru* in *sishya*'s life of *sadhana* is all important. *Guru* knows the form of *sadhana* inherited from *guruparmpara*. Not only this, it is the *guru*, on the basis of his understanding of *sishya*'s inherent qualities and weaknesses, who decides that what form of *sadhana* should *sishya* undertake.

Before explaining the *mata* aspect on which distinctions of *sampradayas* are based, now we need to understand *achara* and *dharma* also as they too play a constitutive role in the formation of *sampradayas.*

Achara is a way of life (literally behaviour and conduct) people follow. It is a total way of life and its various aspects related to it reflected in human behaviour. It is the underlying attitude of the people towards themselves and their world that life reflects.

Achara is the beginning of *dharma.* It is considered to be source of *dharma. Achara* of the *sishtas* (individuals who are endowed with good *sanskaras*) stands as *pramana* of *dharma*, viz. *sruti smriti sisto dharmah tadalabhe sistacarah pramanam (Vasistha-smrti* 1,4).[13] Manu holds the prominence of *achara: acharah parmo dharmah* (1.108).

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[13] *Acharah parmo dharmah sarveshamitih nishchayah; sruti smriti sadacharah svastha cha priyatmanah (Yajn. 1.7); athatah samayacharikan dharmana vyakhyasyamah (Ap. Dh. Su. 1.1.1) and achara prabhvo dharmo dharmasya prabhurchyutah* demonstrates, the strong relationship between achara and *dharma.*

Dharma

Dharma is the first of the four *purusharthas* (human aims) of *pursharthа-chatushtaya* (fourfold human aims) viz -*Dharma- artha- kama-moksha*. The word *dharma* is derived from root *dhr* meaning to uphold, to support, to nourish, to sustain, *Rg*.I.87.1 and X.92.2 utters in the sense of 'upholder or supporter or sustainer'. *Mimanasakas* say: *Vedapratipadyah prayojana vedartho dharmah or veden prayojanam uddisya vidhiyamanoryo dharmah* i.e. for the fulfilment of human aims, the duties injuncted by *vedas* is *dharma*.[14]

Jaimini defines *dharma : chodnalakshanartho dharmah* : a desirable goal or result that is indicated by injunctive (*Vedic)* passages. The word *dharma* would mean "such rites as are conducive to hapiness" and are enjoined in *vedic* passages. The V*aisesika-sutra* defines *dharma:athato dharmam vyakhyasyamah yadtobhgudayanich Sreyasasidih sa dharmah* that from which results happiness and final beatitude'. The *Manusmrti* (II.1): 'Know *dharma* to be that which is practised by the learned that lead a moral life, that are free from hatred and partiality and that is accepted by their hearts (i.e. conscience). Another similar difinition is given by *Nitisara* of Kamandaka (VI.7): that is *dharma* which when done is praised by *aryas (*respectable people) who are conversant with (the *Vedic*) tradition and dharma is said to be that which such people censure. This is a versified rendering of *Ap. Dh. Su*.I. 7. 20 *'yat tu aryah kriyamanam prasamsanti sa dharma yadgarhante so dharmah*' There are several other more or less one sided definitions of *dharma* such as *ahimsa paramo dharmah' (Mbh. Anusasanaparva* 115.1); *anrsansyam paro dharmah' (Vana parva* 373,76); Harita defined

[14]Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sa*, vol.1 pt. 1. pp 1-4.

dharma as *Srutipramanaka*[15] (based on *Sruti).*

Dharyati its *dharmah*: that which holds, binds, sustains is *dharma, dharma* is sustaining principle underlying phenomenon of all activity. It holds people.[16] One who protects *dharma* is protected by *dharma.*[17] A human devoid of *dharma* is like an animal living only for eating copulating, etc.[18] the ideal society is one where there is neither state nor the ruler, niether punishment nor the punisher and the people protect each other in harmony through *dharma.*[19]

In the *Bauddha* texts the word *dharma* is wed in several senses. It often means whole teaching of *Buddha.* Another meaning of *dharma* peculiar to *Bauddhas* is an element of existence,' i.e. of matter, mind and process.'[20]

Rta* (Cf. *Dharma)

It is held that *rta* is the underlying principle of universe (unalterable law, the invioble order of things) conceived as the supreme power in *upanishads* was being abstracted through *yajna* (Dasgupta 1963 [1922] : 37, 72). Recognition of a cosmic order or law prevailing in nature "under the gaurdianship of the highest gods is to be found in the use of the word *rta* (literally the course of things). *Rta* is a word for truth, it stands for an impersonal order of law, and is in vedas the sustaining principle of the various *lokas*, viz. *devaloka, pitrloka*, etc.

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[15] *Athato dharma vyakhyasyamah-sutipramanko dharmah srutischa dvividha vaidika tantriki cha.* quoted by Kulluka on *Manu* 2.1. vide, ibid, p.5.

[16] *Dharnad dharmatyahudharmoh dharyati praja* (Mbh. vide Pushkar Misra:*Hindutva Resurgence Today:A Sociological Critique*; (an unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, JNU),1994.

[17] *Dharmo rakshati rakshitah* vide, ibid.

[18] *Ahara naha bhaya maithunam cha samanyamet pasubhiranarunam dharmahi teshamdhi kovises dharmena hina pasubhih samana* (As in Ramdas Gaud, vide ibid).

[19] *Na rajyam na cha rajasit na dandi na cha dandikah, Dharmasauva prajasasarva rakshintasya parasaparam (Mbh.*vide, ibid).

[20] Kane, *Hist. of Dh. S.* vol. I part I. p.5.

Rta comes from root *Ar*, "to arrange, to order, to regulate. Not so much as "the state of order" and the process. but as the principle behind this state and the power that holds and regulates the process; *Rta* is a binding power.[21]

Rta had threefold aspect. It means `the course of nature or the regular and general order in the cosmos, with reference to *yajna* it means `the ordered course of *yajna* in general; and thirdly it also means the `moral conduct of humans. *Rg.* IV.23.8-19 utters *rta* twelve times illustrating the all pervading influence of *rta* throughout the universe:

> Plentiful waters (or riches or gifts belong to *rta*; the thought of *rta* destroys crooked acts (sins). The brilliant and rousing *mantra* of praise to *rta* pierces the besumed ears of man. The props of *rta* are firm, its (physical) manifestations are many and lovely for the sake of the body (i.e.man). Through *rta* (people) desire food. The cows (sun's rays) entered *rta* by *rta* He who wins over *rta* acquires it. For the sake of *rta* (heaven and earth) are wide and deep; the two highest cows (i.e. heaven and earth) yeild milk (desires or rewards) for the sake of *rta*.'
>
> Some other passages are : `The *sindhus* (rivers) follow the *rta* of *varuna*' (*Rg.* II.281: I.105,12,). The wheel of *rta* (i.e. the year) revolves round the sky with twelve spokes (*Rg* 1. 164.11); the young woman (*usha* i.e.dawn) does not destroy (or come in the way of) the light of *rta (Rg.* [123.9]; the sun is the bright and lovely face of *rta (Rg.* VI. 51. 1). the *path* of the *rta* became united with the rays *(Rg.* 1.136.2); `when exhilarated by drinking this (*soma*) Indra released for the sake of *rta* the concealed host of cows (*Rg.* 1.121.4, probably reference to drought and subsequent rainfall). Many of the *devtas* (principal gods) are the gaurdians, promoters ar charioteers of *rta. Mitra* and *varuna* rule

[21]Rudolph Otto (as quoted in Mees, p.10) adds that *rta* was to be found in social life of the "clan," of the "tribe and the family." The binding order of "morals, customs laws and manners in the constitution of the social classes and of the labour communities, in compacts and oaths, in marriage, in the relations of individuals, in class and tribes, in public law and in private conduct, was also *Rta*, based upon *Rta*. It appeared in social life as the continuation, the consequence and reflection of the cosmic binding order (ibid). Mees compares this with what Bhagwandas writes regarding *Dharma*, "That which holds a thing together, makes it what it is, prevents it from breaking up and changing it into something else, its characterstic function, its peculiar property, its fundamental attribute, its essential nature, is its *dharma*, the law of its being, pramarily. that which makes the world-process what it is, and holds all its part together as one whole, in a breakless all binding chain of causes-and effects, is the law (or totality of laws) of nature or nature's God, *dharma* in the largest sense, the world order (cf. the word *dharma* in *Yoga* and Buddhist philosophy). That scheme or code of laws which bind together human being in the bond of mutual rights and duties-----" (ibid, p.11). Mees holds that *Rta* and *Dharma* are similar concepts.

over the world by *rta (Rg.* 63.7;VII.66.12, VI.51.3;III.2.8;I.1.8;III.10.X.8.5;X.118.7;V.2.1;.IX.48.4;IX.73.8 and many others).

Rta is distinguished from *yajna*. It is not any particular *yajna* nor the institution of *yajna*. It stands for the ordered course of *yajna* in general.[22] In Rg. IV.3.4 *Agni* is uttered as *rtchit* (conversant with or observing *rta*) and is invoked to know the *rta* (of the *yajna*); in several *mantras* `*rtena rtam'* is uttered (Rg.IV 3. 9, V.15.2;V.68.4): `confirming to or joining *rta* with *rta*, where *rtena* appears to mean the correct course of *yajna* and `*rtam'* the settled order in universe. Soma is said to be the thread of *rta* spread on the *dasapavitra* (Rg. IX.73.9).

The conception of *rta* as moral imperative occurs in several passages.

Rg I.90.6 `the winds carry sweets, the rivers do the same to him who keeps the *rta. Rg* V.12.2 `*O Agni*, that knowest *rta*, know *rta* alone (in me)--- I shall confirm to rta....? *Rg*.X.87.11. *O'Agni* ! may the evil spirit who injures *rta* by an *rta* be thrice bound in thy years.' *Yama* in rejecting the Yami's advances says (X.10.4) `What indeed we never did before shall we do it now?); shall we who have spoken *rta* (so far) now speak *anrta*?' (*rta vandant anrtam rapema*).

In two three instances *rta* appears to be almost personification and invokved as "divinity".

`*O Agni*! for us offer sacrifice to Mitra and *varuna*, to the gods and to the great (*mahat*) *rta' (Rg*.1.75.5). Similary in *Rg* X.66.4 the great *(mahat) rta* is mentioned alongside of *Aditi*, Heaven and Earth, *Indra*, *Vishnu*, the *Maruts*, etc.

Rta and satya were distinguished in several passages of the *Rgveda*. For example, *Rg*. V.51.2 utters of the *visvedevas* as `*rtadhitayah'* (whose thoughts were fixed *rta*) and *satya dharnanah* (whose characterstics is truth or whose *dharmas* are true). In *Rg*. IX.11.34 *rta* and

[22]*Rta* according to Dasgupta "was also used, as Macdonnell observes, to denote the `order' in the moral world as truth and `right and in the religious world as sacrifice or `rite' and its unalterable law of producing effects" (Dasgupta, *Hist. of Ind. Phil*. Vol.I, p.22; also see Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, p.11).

satya both occur and appear to mean almost the samething. In *Rg.* X.190.1 *rta* and *satya* are distinguished as having sprewng from `*tapas*'. *Rta* involves a wider conception and *satya* had originally a restricted meaning (viz. truth or static orders). The word *anrta* however, is the opposite of both *rta* and *satya* as may be seen from *Rg.* X.10.4;VII.49.3 (*Varuna* who marks the *satya* and *anrta* of people), *Rg* X.124.5 (*Varuna* who seperates *anrta* by means of *rta*). Gradually, however, the word *rta* receded into the background and *satya* tooks its place even in *Vedic* literature, though here and there (as in *Tai. Up.* II. 1 and 1.9.1) both *rta* and *satya* are found in juxtaposition.[23] The conception of *Rta* in *Rgveda* is a sublime one and is "the germ of the later doctrine" of the rule of *dharma.*[24]

Dharma : Its Sources

Dharma-brahmani Vedakavidye (Jaimini *Purva mimansa-sutra*): *Dharma* and *Brahma* can be known through *Veda. Dharma* is not within the ken of sense perception. It is the fruit of the performance of *yajna* and is something which is not visible (*adrshtasamiti sarvairbhidayate*). *Mantra-brahmanamakah sabdrasir veda iti*: The Veda is the "mass of words" which constitutes *Mantra* and *Brahmana*; *Mantra-Brahmanyor Vedanamadheyam* (Apastamta in *Yajna-paribhasha): Mantra* and *Brahmana* are both called *veda. Brahmana* are regarding *vidhi* and *arthavada. Karmachodna Brahmanani (Yajn. Pari. Su.*, 32,33) i.e. *Brahmana* are injunctive of action; while their remainder is known as *arthavada. Vidhis* are two *Apravrttapravartnam*, `enjoing an act which may not be performed' and *Ajnat-jnapanam*, `making known what is unknown'. *Vidhivakyam dharma pramanam*: *vidhi-vakyas* are the

[23]Kane, *Hist. of Dh. S.* vol. IV pp. 2-5.
[24]ibid, vol II, part I, p.5.

source of *dharma* (Mookerji 1969 [1949] : 1-6). The *Gautamadharmasutra (1.1-2): Vedo dharmamulam, Tadvi-dam cha smrtisile* : the *veda* is the source of *dharma* and the tradition and practise of those who know it. *Apastamba Dharmasutra* (I.1.1.2) *Dharmajnsamayah pramanam vedasch.* The authority (for the *dharmas*) is the consensus of those who know *dharma* and the *Vedas; Vasishthadharmasutra*: *Srutismrti-vihito dharmah, tadlabhe sistacharah pramanam, sista punarakamatma* : Prescriptions of *Sruti* and *Smriti* is *dharma* and *pramana* (source) is the achara of learned and virtuous. *Manusmriti* (II.6): *vedokhilo dharmamulam smrtisile cha tadvidam, acharaschaiva sadhunamatma -nastushti cha*: the whole *veda* is (foremost) source of *dharma* and (next) the tradition and practise of who know it (the *veda*); and further the usages of virtuous men and self-satisfaction'. Yajnvalkya (1.7): *Srutih smritih sadacharh svasya cha priyat manah, samyaksankalpajah kamo dharmulanidam smrtam :* the *veda*, traditional lore, the usages of good men, what is agreeable to one's self and desire born of due deliberation-this too are traditionally recognized as sources of *dharma*.[25]

Contexts of *Dharma*

It is conspicous by the analysis so far that *Dharma* is a category with non-specific horizon.[26] It has innumerable contexts when attempts towards specifity are made. It is context sensitive in the sense that its meaning can only be derived in specific terms in relation to the context of its usage. At the sametime it transcends the barriers of context towards near universal usage. *Dharma* is like water-colourless-attains the colour of the instrument in which kept. Similarly *Dharma* is a category which acquires the meaning in the context of its use. In

[25]ibid : vol.1, p.6.

[26]other such categories are, *rta, brahma, karma, sanskara* etc.

order to proceed further, it is inevitable that, rather than attempting to define *dharma*,[27] we attempt to record and specify the various contexts of the usage of *dharma*.

In early literature *dharma* is said to be two fild, viz. *srauta* and *smarta*. The first comprised those "rites and ceremonies" with which the *vedic sanhitas* and *Brahmana* texts were chiefly concerned, such as the "consecration of the three sacred fires", the *soma yajnas*, etc. The *smarta* comprised those topics that were specially dealt with by the *smrtis* and that concerned the various *varnas* ("classes" and *asramas* (stages in life).[28] Some works provide three fold divisions of *dharma* viz. *sruti, smrti* and *sishtachara* as observed by *Baudhayana: Upadishto dharmah prativedam, smarto dvitiyah, tritiyah sishtagamah.*[29]

Medhatithi commenting on *Manu* says that the expounder of *smrti* dilate upon *dharma* as five fold viz. *varnadharma, asramadharma, varnasrama dharma, naimittika dharma* (such as *prayaschitta*) and *guna dharma* (the duty of the crowned king, whether *kshatriya* or not, to protect). Haradatta on *Gautama-dharma-sutra* (19.1) and Govindraja on *Manu* (2.25) give

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[27]Even if, we try to record the existing definitions, an encyclopedia of the 'definitions of *dharma'* running in several volumes will be created. The various explanations of *dharma* which we have provided so far are merely a superfluous sketch in order to draw some understanding of the "elusive notion" of *dharma* vis a vis. *Sampradaya.*

Dharma may be said to be the distinct qualities that are inherent in things animate and inanimate, at the original creation (Kelkar, S.B; *Essays of Hinduism*, p 8; vide Thoothi, *The Vaishnavas of Gujarat*, p.62). "That which can be adopted is *dharma*; that which supports all life is *dharma*. Everything that exists is what it is because of *dharma*; without it, its very existence becomes doubtful," (Kothari, M.N., *Bhakti-marganu rahasya*, p.13; vide. ibid). Thoothi while concluding his attempt to define *Dharma* writes, "*Dharma* is a search, however elusive, to shape the Natural in terms of the Ideal and to deduce the Ideal from the Natural. Thus in infinite series of such adjustments through ages of human endeavour, man hopes to enable ultimately, to find out laws of the harmony between the actual and the ideal that may bring forth that perfection of human existence which is prayed by prophets and sages in terms like:The kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" (Thoothi, p.63).

For representation of *Dharma* in contemporary discourse, see Thoothi N.A., The *Vaishmavas* of Gujarat, pp. 62-63; Pandey, G.C., *Foundations of Indian Culture* , p. 216; Yogendra Singh; *Modernizationd of Indian Tradition*; Mees, G.H., *Dharma and Society*. Also see, Aurobindo; *Foundations of Indian culture*; Vinoba Bhave: *Intimate and the Ultimate.*

[28]*Matsya-purana 44. 30-31; Vayupurana* 59. 31-32 and 39; (vide Kane, *Hist. of Dh. S.* vol. I part II, p. 2.

[29]Vide, Kane: Hist of Dh. S. vol. 1, part 1, p.4.

the same five fold contexts. The *Bhavishyapurana* (in *Brahma-parva* 181,10-15) sets out this five fold *dharma*. The *Gautama-dharma-sutra* (19.1) says : *ukto varna-dharmaschasrama-dharmascha* and then proceeds to dilate upon *prayschittas* (i.e. *naimittika dharma*). *Mitakshara* on *Yajn.* 1.1 after mentioning the fivefold dharmas and illustrating them adds a sixth category viz. `*sadharan-dharma'* duties common to all humans such as *ahimsa* and quotes from *Veda* for support `*na hinsyat sarva bhutani*[30].

On the basis of above analysis and our *anvekshana*, the different contexts of *dharma* are as follows:

Ishta-purva dharma - *Ishta,* i.e. *yajna* and *purva* i.e. construction of temple, ponds, planting trees, *jirnodhara* (renovation), etc. form the *Ishapurva dharma.* In *atharvaveda* (VI. 53. 3; VII. 5.1; VII. 27. 5; XI.7.17) the *dharmah* seems to be uttered in the sense of `merit acquired by the performance of *yajna.* The *Aitreya Brahmana* (VII.17) gives the sense: "the whole body of *karmakanda* (ritual duties)" for *dharma. Rg* 1.22.18, V.26.6, VIII.43.24, IX.64.1 et. utter in the sense of *yajna.*[31]

There is another meaning to *ishta* (i.e. liking or closeness) which we found to be dominent in our *anvekshana. Brahmacharis* worshipped their ishta *devtas* (the dieties who they considered to be closest to them). These *ishta devtas* can be referred as "personal gods". The *dharma* pertaining to them also falls under *ishtapurva dharma.* The construction of temples, their renovation, planting trees, making public arrangements for drinking water, the activities done for the general good are considered to be the acts of *punya* (virtue) and form

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[30]ibid, p.4. *Mitaksara* verse is : *sa cha dharmah shad vidhah, varnadharmah asramadharmah varnasramadharmah, gunadharmah nimittadharmah sadharanadharmaschu.* (vide Varnekar, vol. 1, p. 35).

[31]Varnekar, vol. 1, p. 37 and Kane, vol. 1pt.1. p.1.

ishtapurva dharma. Satya dharman is applied to different gods alone viz. to savitr, *visvedevah, agni, mitra* and *varuna* in *Rg* 1.12.7, V.63.1;X.34.8;X.121.9;X139.3. In this case there meaning appears to be 'whose regulations do not fail'[32]. This is to included as forming *ishtapura dharma* by us.

As will be seen in next chapter. The construction of mathas to can be taken under this *dharma*. The *mathas* and their *sampradayas* do undertake the task of building institutions of public welfare. We observed during our *anvekshana* that the *grhastha* followers of a particular *sampradaya* play a significant role in fulfilling the *ishta-purva dharma* for their respective *sampradaya*.

Varna dharma - The *dharma* of the four *varnas* viz. i) *Brahmana dharma* includes, study of *Vedas, yajna, dana, svadhyaya* (self-study), teaching, *pratigraha* (accepting *dana*), *japa, homa, tapa*, etc.[33]

ii) *Kshatriya* or *ksatra dharma*, includes primarily to protect *dharma*, fight against *aniti* (wrong policies) and *anyaya* (injustice) study *Vedas, yajna, dana*, etc.

iv) *Vaishya dharma* includes earning for the society (*arjana*) through trade, commerce, agriculture, etc., *dana*, study *vedas, yajna*, etc.

v) *Sudra dharma* includes offering services.

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[32]ibid.

[33]It is intersting to note here the *jatification* of *brahamanas* provided by Aparaka by quoting Devala: *Matra* (one who is only born in a *brahmana* family but has not studied any part of the veda nor performs the actions appropriate to *brahmanas*), *brahmana* (who has studied a portion of the *veda*), srotriya (who has studied one vedic sakha with the six *angas* and performs the six duties of *brahmana*), *anuchana* (who knows the meaning of the *veda* and is of pure heart and has kindled the "sacred fires" *bhruna* (who besides being *anuchana* always performs *yajnas* and eats what is left after performing *yajnas*), *rshikalpa* (who has gained all worldly and *vedic* knowledge, and has his mind under control), *rshi* (one who is celibate, of austure life, of truthful speech and able to curse or favour), *muni* (to whom a clod of earth and gold are the same, who has ceased from all activity, is devoid of desires and anger, etc.) Vide Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sa.* V.II part1, pp. 131-132.

Asrama- dharama is the dharma of an individual at various stages of life. This is not uniform. First part of individual's life is *brahmacharya asrama* in which he learns at his teacher's house and after he has finished his study, in the second part of his life he marries and becomes householders discharges his *rnas* and performs *yajnas*. When he sees that his head has "grey hair and that there are wrinkles on his body" he enters *vanaprastha* (living in forest i.e. living in solitutude to prepare for higher aims of life). During the *vanaprastha* stage when the individual is prepared for *sannyasa*, he enters *sannyasa asrama* for rest of his life.[34] During our *anvekshan* we found reference to *purva-asrama*. There are the four stages of human life called *asrama*.[35] The previous *asrama* of each *asrama* is known as *purva-asrama*. It meant in this context *asrama* prior to *sannyasa*, whether *brahmaharya* or *grhastha*. The sustenance of all the *asramas* is dependent on *grhastha-asrama*.

With reference to *asaram* there are three *pakshas* (point of view) viz. *samuchchaya* (orderly co-ordination), *vikalpa* (option) and *badha* (annulment or cantradiction). The *samuchchaya paksha* holds that an individual can resort to the four *asramas* one after another in order and that one cannot drop anyone or more and pass on to the next nor can one resort to the *grhastha asrama* after becoming a *sannyasi*.[36]The *vikalpa paksha* is that there is an option after *brahmacharya* i.e. an individual may become a *parivrajaka* immidiately after he

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[34]Vide *Manu-smrti* IV.1, V.169, VI.1-2, VI.33.

[35]*Rg-sanhita* refers to *brahmacharin* in X.109.5, *grhapati* in V-53.2 and *muni* in X.136 (Chakraborti: 1973:4). The first two *asramas* find wide reference in *Upanishadas*. As regard the third *asrama*, we may recall the example of King Brhadaratha who "establishing his son in kingdom went forth into the forest where he performed (*Maitr Up.*, 1.2). As an example of the fourth *asrama*, we may cite the example of, the *Yajnvalkya* who renounced the world and embraced *sannyasa* (*Brhad. Up.* ii, 4.1; iv, 5.1) declaring that "*Brahmanas* knowing the *atma* overcome the desire for sons, for wealth, for worlds and live the life of *parivrajaka*" (Mookerji 1969 [1949]:157).

[36]Vide Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sa.* vol. II, pt. 1, p. 424. During our *anvekshana* we were informed that there were instances of *sannyasis* turning into *grahasthas* and among *Dasnamis*, the *sannyasis* who turned *grhasthas* are called *gosains*.

finishes his study or immidiately after the *grhastha asrama*. This *paksha* is put forth by *Japalopnishad* as an alternative to *samuchchaya*.[37] The third *paksha* is held by *Gautama* and *Buadhayana Dharmasutras*. They hold that there is only one *asrama*, i.e. *grhastha*, *brahmacharya* one is only prepratory and others are inferior to that of *grahastha*.[38]

In the *grahastha asrama pancha maha-yajnas* are essential for an individual. The principal of *yajna* was that of sacrifice by which man, like his Maker, is to build up and uphold the system he brings into being in this world. He must in his own life go through the eternal creative processes of "Beginning, Development, and Dissolution". Sacrifice is the process of his self-expansion leading to his final dissolution in the Absolute, emanicipated from his narrow self. This self-expansion is achieved through a series of *Yajnas*. The first of this is called *Deva Yajna* symbolising man's approach towards the gods, the creative forces of which he is the outcome. This is called *Svaha*, expression of *Sva* or Self, which is uttered after the offer of oblations to the *Devatas*. Just as spiritually Man is the outcome of the gods to whom he thus makes sacrifices, physically he is the outcome of his ancestors, the *Pitris*, to whom he prays by *Pitr -Yajna*, by uttering the word *Svaha*, "placing of his own self, *Sva*," in the *Pitrs*[39]. Then he has to perform a fourth *Yajna* called *Bhuta-Yajna* offering *bali* (oblation) to all created beings with whom he realizes his oneness. "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin". Lastly he has to perform *Nri-Yajna* by which he offers worship to all his fellowmen in a spirit of universal brotherhood. This worship is in the form of the

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[37]This *paksha* is also held by Vasishtha VII.3, *Laghu Vishnu* III.1. and *Yajnvalkya* III.56. *Ap. Dh. Su.* II.9.21.7-8 and II .9.22.7-8 seem to favour this *paksha*. Vide, ibid.

[38]Gautama (III.land 35) first refers to *vikalpa paksha* and then emphatically says that there is only one *asrama*. *Manu* VI.89-90, III.77-80, *Vas. Dh. S.* VIII.14-17, *Daksha* II.57-60, *Vishnu Dh. S.* 59.29 and several others praise the *grahstha* as superior. Vide, ibid.

[39]Cf. *Praisha mantra sanskara* as observed earlier and explained in next chapter.

offer of daily hospitality by the entertainment of guests as a part of religious duty. It will thus he seen how this hierarchy of fire *Yajnas* (known as *Pancha-Mahayajnas*) who planned as a scheme of progressive approach towards the Infinite with which they provide so many links with the finite (Mookerji 1951(1947):13).

Varnadharma and *asramadharma* are also known as *Varnasrama dharma* together. Tantravarttika refers: *Sarvadharmasutranam Varnasasrama cha dharmodesitvata* i.e. All *Dharmasutras* impart *varnasrama dharma*. During our *anvekshana* some learned *sadhus* told us that in *Kaliyuga varnasrama dharma* is broken, hence it is the *sampradayas* which preserve the *dharma*. *Sampradayas* in *Kaliyuga* are the gaurdians of *dharma* in absence of *varnashrama dharma*.

Lokasangrahaka dharma-*Lokasangrahaka* is derived from *lokasangraha* (*Gita* 3.25) meaning welfare of people, for the betterment of *loka* (people). There are three forms of *lokasangrahaka dharma* viz. 1) *achara*, 2) *vyavahara* and , 3) *naimittika* also called *pryaschitta*. According to *Manu-smrti; dharma, sadharana dharma (achara dharma)* have ten elements: *Dhrti* (contentment), *kshma* (forgiveness), *damah* (mental discipline), *asteyam* (non stealing), *saucham* (purity of thought, speech and action), *indriya nigraha* (control of senses), *dhi* (cultivation of visdom), *vidya* (learning), *satyam* (truthfulness), *akrodho* (no-anger) is *dharma*.[40] ***Vyavahara dharma***, there is considered to be three levels of reality viz. *paramarthika* *pratibhashika* and *Vyavaharika*, i.e. pertaining to routine activities. e.g.

[40]The *achara* aspect of *dharma* is found in *Gaut, Dh. Su.* VII 23-25, *Matsya-purana* 52.8.10 (8 in all), *Manu* X.63 (five). *Yajn.* 1.1.22 (nine). *Artha sastra* of Kautilya (13.13) prescribe for all: *ahimsa,. Satya, saucha, anasuya, anrsaya* and *kshama*. vide Kane, *Hist. of Dh. Sa.* Vol.1, pt.1 pp 1-4. Refer Kane, vol.II. pp. 10-11, vol. V. pp. 10 23-24, 1637 and 1648.The meaning of *achara* is here taken in limited sense of the rightful behaviour or *achara dharma*.

Advaitis consider *yajna* to be *vyavaharika* and not *paramarthika*, but *Mimansa* does not accept this view. *Vyavahara* has to be understood in the specific context of *loka-vyavahara*, e.g. laws relating to property, the rights of inherence, resolution of disputes, etc. as *loka-vyavahara*. It is in this sense, it is treated in *Dharmasastras*. Thus the *dharma* pertaining to *loka* is *Vyavahar dharma* or *loka dharma*. ***Naimittika dharma*** is pertaining to *pryaschitta*, i.e. *karmakanda* (rituals) for atonment. They are dealt in detail in *Dharmasastras*.

Jati dharma pertains to the *dharma* of different *jatis*. *Smrtis* mentions of *jatyachara* i.e. the *achara dharma* of *jatis*.

Svadharma pertains to individual *dharma* to the *dharma* of groups.[41] *Gita* says *Svadharme nidhinam sreyah* i.e. to observe one's own *dharma* is the best course. *Svadharma* often in usage connotes the asertion of one's individuality. *Svadharma* as an epithet of *agni* (fire) is uttered in *Rg*. III. 21. 7. The *dharma* of *agni* is to burn.

Vrtti dharma- It is a widely held that there are two forms of *dharma* viz. *pravritti dharma* and *nivrtti dharma*. Former deals with *loka* and the latter with *moksha*. *Vrtti* also means, the means of livlihood e.g. the *vrtti* of *brahmachari* is *bhiksha vrtti* i.e. livlihood through "begging" which is his *dharma* and their are rules and regulations for it. *Vritti dharma* can also mean rules, regulations and duties pertaining to one's own *vrtti* (profession) i.e. through which one sustains oneself. *Vrtti dharma* can mean "professional approach, or and professional ethic as well.

Kuladharma is pertaining to the dharma of *kula*, i.e. rules, regualtions and duties related to family tradition. *Smrtis* deal with *kulachara*. *Pati-dharma (dharma* of husband),

[41] Vide, Rajbali Pandey, Hindu-dharmakosa, pp. 74-75.

patni dharma (dharma of wife), *putra-dharma (dharma* of son), etc. also form *kula dharma*[42].

Desa-kala dharma- *Desa* means the space and *kala*, time. These two are considered to be an important element in forming *dharma*. *Smrtis* describe *desachara* i.e. the *achara* in various regions. The selection of timing is important which inlcudes right *muhurta* (auspisciousness). *Desa-dharma* and *kala dharma* can be taken seperately. The *yugadharma* i.e. the *dharma* pertaining to particular age. There are several *dharmas* which have been lost in *kaliyuga*, *varnasrama dharma* is one of them, there are others which have formed in *kaliyuga*. *Kala dharma* can be the *dharma* in a particular period. Some of the learned *sadhus* referred during our *anvekshana* said that *sampradaya* is the *dharma* of *Kaliyuga*. Since *Varnasrama dharma* has been lost the *Sruti-prampara* is being maintained through *sampradaya dharma*. The *moksha* of an individual is possible through *sampradayas* only.

Rajadharma can be simply stated as *dharma* of the state. It also means the rules and regulations alongwith duties pertaining to the governance of the *loka*. Framing of the *niti* (policies) and measures to fight against *anyaya* (injustice), to protect *dharma* and *sastra* etc are *rajadharma*..

Sadharana* or *samanya dharma- The *dharma* pertaining to the larger good is this form of *dharma* i.e. what is common to all humanity viz. *ahimsa* and other virtues. In the case of *dharma-sankata* (dillema over choosing between two *dharmas* as is in the case of "role-conflict" it is the *sadharana dharma* or *samanya dharma* i.e. interest of larger is taken into consideration. But resolution of *dharma-sankata* is purely contextual and bearing of the context is most important.

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[42]This *dharma* has to be seen in relation to *grahastha asrama*.

Guna dharma-Medaithi while explaining *guna dharma* cities "protection of the subjects by crowned king" as an example. *Guna dharma* is *dharma* due to nature of things e.g. to burn is the nature of fire. Hunger, thirst, etc. are *dehadharma*. Its emphasis is on inherent nature, e.g. *Prakriti dharma* is also *guna dharma*. Environmental crisis can be seen in the light of the violation of *guna dharma* of *prakriti* (nature)[43].

Apad dharma is dharma to be followed in extreme situations. It is in a way compromise in order to be able to follow *dharma* later. If one doesn't opt for *apad-dharma* in extreme situations, and follows the *dharma*, it is considered to be an act, which is highly respected by *sadhus* as was revealed to us during our *anvekshana*.

Rastra dharma, janpada dharma and *grama dharma* are some of the other *dharmas* whose usage is prevalent.

Contexts of *Achara*.

Since *achara* is a source of *dharma*, each of the context of *dharma* can be seen in context of *achara* in a wider sense. *Smrtis* after dilineating *lokasangrahaka dharma* into three forms, viz. *achara*, *vyavahara* and *nimitta*, further enunciate the *achara*. Yajnvalkya's includes: 1) *sanskara* 2)rules, regulations and duties for *vedapathi brahmacharis* (one who recites *veda*), 3) marriage and duties of wife, 4) four *varnas* and *varnasankaras* 5) duties of *grhastha* 6) rules to be followed after *brahmacharya asrama* 7) rules regarding food habits 8) purity of objects 9) *sradha*, 10) the worship of *Ganapati* 11) the rules to propitiate *grahas* (planets), 12) duties of king, etc all these forming the subject matter of *achara*.

There are three divisions of achara ccording to *smritis* viz. 1) *desachara 2) jatyachara*

[43] *Prakiti* is considered to be in three *gunas*. Viz sattva, rajas and tamas.

and 3) *kulachara*. The *achara* in vogue in a particular region is called *desachara*, e.g. cross-cousin marriage in some parts of south. Similarly the *achara* in vogue in particular *jati* is *jatyachara* (or *achara* of a *jati*) e.g. certain *jatis* have *sagotra* marriages. The *achara* of a particular *kula*, forms the *kulachara*. *Dharmasastras* have guided the king to provide legitimacy to various *acharas*.[44]

For individuals, there are acharas belonging to *saucha* category connected with cleanliless of body. The *sansakaras* connected with different stages of individual life form achara of different category. *Vrata* belong to another class which being effected makes a particular thing or person fit for a specific perpose. *Ahnika, Tarpana, Mahayajna, Devayajna, Vaisvadeva. Nryajna, Dana, Pratishtha*, etc., also fall in the category of *achara*. Apart from the modified *acharas*, there are the customary ones connected with the harvest, seasonal changes and so on.[45]

In a *Tantric* text according to *Mahanirvana* v. 37, *achara* are of seven kinds (*saptavidha*): *vedachara, vaishnava achara, saiva achara, dakshina achara, vama achara, siddhanta achara* and *kaula achara. Achara* is looked in two broad categories *dakshina* and *vama*.[46] It is also held that there are four primary *acharas* viz. *vaidika, vaishnava, saiva* and *sakta, Sakta achara* is of four types again. viz. *vama, dakshina, siddhanta* and *kaula,* According to *Shata sambhava rahasya, vaidika achara* is better than *vaisnava, saura* is better than *ganpatya, saiva* than *saura* and *sakta* than *saiva*.Within *sakta vama, dakshina* and *kaula*

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[44]ibid

[45]Vide Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, *A Glosary of Indian Religious Terms and Concepts*, pp. 3-4.Refer for details.

[46]ibid

are better in that order (Dvivedi 1981 : 22).

Through our *anvekshana* we found that there are five *acharas*, which are held to be prevalent among the *sampradayas* in contemporary times. These five *acharas* are-*vaishnava achara, saiva achara, sakta achara saura achara* and *ganpatya achara*. The *achara* as per our *anvekshana* includes 1) *sansakaras*, 2) the object and form of worship i.e. *upasya devta* and *sadhana* 3) code followed, i.e. class, colour of robes, *tilaka*, instruments held, e.g. *chimta*, *kamandala*, *trishula*, etc, types of *malas* (rosaries), types of *danda* etc and 4) rules regulations. When an *achara* is transmitted from one generation to another through *guruparmpara* it takes the form of *sampradaya*. *Achara* plays a constitutive role in the formation of *sampradaya* institutionalised through *guruparampara*.

Mata

Mata alongwith *Guruparmparya* is an essential component of *sampradaya*. Hence the *darsana* and *achara* aspects of *sampradaya* were merged within *mata*. Earlier texts reveal the use of term *mata*, where distinctions on the basis of *darsana, achara* and *sadhana* were to be made. The term *mata* is often used for *sampradaya*.

Mata in fact is like the concept of *chitta*. *Chitta* does not have its independent existence. *Chitta* is dependent on *vritti* (state), the state i.e.*vritti* is the state of *chitta*. Similary the formation of *mata* is dependent on various aspects. *Mata* is conclusive by nature, *chitta* is related to *sankalpa* i.e. conclusive ditermination. This is our *mata* and we follow it, is often used by the adherents of various *sampradayas*. *Dasnami sampradaya's mata* is *advaita mata* of *Vedanta darsana* and according to their *mata* they follow *saiva achar* and according to their *mata* their *sadhana* forms of *sadhana-chatushtaya*. Similarly Ramanuj's folow

Visishtadvaita mata, their *achara* as per their *mata* is *Vaishnava*. Their *sadhana* is *prapatti* (*Bhakti*).

Hence we see that *mata* here is based on *darsana, achara* and *sadhana*. Any one of them can be said to be *mata*, or in different combinations, or all together can also be called *mata*. During our *anvekshana* we asked this question time and again that what *achara* you follow according to your *sampradaya*. The answer used to be "according to our *mata* we follow such and such *achara* "according to our *mata* we follow such and such *sadhana-paddhthi* and *sannyasa-paddhathi*. Hence we found that whereas *guruparampraya* is what constitutes *sampradaya*, the distinctions are made on the basis of *mata*. There are three major distinctions a) *Darsana* b) *Achar* and c) *Sadhana*. Each one of this we will deal seperately.

Achara

We have already elaborated the constitutive role of *achara* vis-a-vis *dharma* and *sampradaya*. The *guruparampara* constitutes the *sampradaya* and it is *achara, dharma* or *mata* which gets institutionalise in the process . The distinctions of *sampradayas* are on the basis of mata. *Achara* aprat from playing the constitutive role also play the role of distinction. The distinction in *mata* on the basis of *achara* have been quite prevalent among *sampradayas*.

The *achara* as per *anvekshana* on the basis of which distinctions in *mata* are made are 1) *sanskaras* 2) *upasya devta* and *sadhana*, i.e. the object of worship, 3) code followed, i.e. dress, chour of robes, *tilaka*, instruments held, e.g. *chimta, kanandala, trishula*, etc., types of *matas* (rosaries), types of *danda*, etc. and 4) rules and regulation to be followed by the *sampradaya*. The *praisha mantra sanskara* has distinction between *Dasnamis* and *chatuh*

sampradayas, as the former remove the `*sikha*, where as latters do not.[47]

The distinction on the basis of *Upasya devta* has led to the formation of new *sampradayas* within a single *sampradaya* among *Vaishnavas* in particular and other *sampradays* in general. The distinction of *Ramanandi sampradaya* from *Sri sampradaya* is on the basis of *upasya deva*. The *upasya deva* of *Sri sampradaya* is *Narayana*, whereas that of *Ramanandi* is *Rama. Sri sampradaya* has `*Narayana Mantra*, whereas *Ramandi* have *Rama Mantra*. The *Tilaka* of the two are different. *Sri Sampradaya* has only *Saguna Bhakti*, whereas, *Ramanandis* have both *Saguna* and *Nirguna Bhakti*.

With the accepted distinction of *Bhakti* in *Nirguna* and *Saguna* there are two divisions of the *Sishya parampara* of *Ramanandi Sampradaya*. They are called `*vairagi'* and `*sant*.

While explaining the formation of *Haridasa-sampradaya*, Meetal quotes Bhagvatarasika, who systematized the *Haridasa sampradaya* in explaining its form. According to it the *sampradayika Swaroop* or form is as follows:- *Acharya-Lalita Sakhi* (Swami Haridasa), *Chhapa-Rasika, Upasana-Nitya Kishora; Mantra-Yugala Mantra, Pramana Grantha*-The *Vani* of *Rasikas. Dhama-Sribrindavana* and *Ishta-Sri Radhaji*. (Meetal 1974:462).

We find here that there are seven categories involved in explaining *sampradaya* viz. 1) *Acharya, 2) Chhapa, 3) Upasana, 4) Mantra, 5) Pramana Grantha, 6) Dhama, 7) Ishta.*

The *acharya* aspect is covered by *guru parampara, chhapa* is a form of *bhakti* and hence falls under *sadhana* alongwith *mantra* and *upasana*, whereas *Ishta* as *achara* and *pramana grantha* is *darsana*.

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[47]There are five *vaishnava sanskaras, Y*amuna used to invest with to all his *sishyas* (Dasgupta 1968 (1940) : 98).

During our *anvekshana* we observed that *tilaka* distinctions, the colour of robes can make one recognize the *sampradaya* of a *sadhu* in several cases and *achara* in almost all cases. The *tilaka* of *Dasnamis* is horizontal and that of *Vaishnavas* vertical. This *tilakas* are wore on the forehead (marks made of *chandan* (sandal) generally). It is wore on the other parts of body as well, specially on arms, chest, back, the belly and the thighs. The *tilakas* are prepared by *gopi-chandana* and *rakta-chandana*. The former is yellow in colour, whereas the latter is red. *Ramanuji* call this material out of which *tilaka* is prepared as *Sri-churna*.

The *tilaka* is very essential in *sadhu* life as it is considered as an prepratory exercise of the meeting with the absolute. The *Krshna* devotees, for example, interpret their *tilaka* as *Krshna's* temple with *Brahma* and *Siva* at either side of the three vertical lines.

Dasnami generally wear *tilakas* of *Vibhuti* (holy ashes). *Dasnami nagas* wear this *vibhuti*[48] as the only robe all over their body. It is a common sight among the nagas at times while interacting with *grhasthas*, they wear *langoti* (lioncloth). These "holy ashes", or vibhuti, are related to *dhuni* and are considered to be the *prasada* (holy gift) from *Agni devta*, the fire diety.

Sadhu is supposed not to own more than a *danda* (staff), an animal skin (generally of deer called *Mrga chhala* and at times of lion or tiger), *asana* (a seat, of animal skin as above or of any other material generally cloth) and some rags to wear. Some *sadhus* carry, *trishula, chimta*, etc.

Jata (matted hair) is common feature among the *nagas* in particular and *sadhus* in general. It is indicative of the long year the *sadhu* has given in for tapas or *sadhana*, and in

[48]Taken from their own *dhuni* (to be explained later). *Aghoris* take their *vibhuti* from the cremation fires.

the process had lost consciousness of the self, resulting in the hairs getting matted. It is not essential, but it draws attention and respect among the *sadhus*. We came across *sadhus* during *anvekshana* whose hairs were matted and were longer than his own height. The length of the hair signifies, the prolonged period of *sadhana* and *sadhu's sannyasa* period. The *sadhus* of *Juna akhara* and U*dasina akhara* take pride and are particular about their *jata*. It is believed that when Bhagiratha was bringing Ganga to earth after a severe *tapas*, the stream of the river was so strong that it could have swayed the earth. *Siva* at *Kalilasa* mountain was requested to catch the stream in his *jata* to save the earth and retard the intensity of the stream. From the *jata* of the *Siva* then Ganga flowed on earth. *Jata* in this sense reflects the power of *tapas* and virility.

Many *sadhus* are clean shaven, they go the extent of shaving all the *pancha-keshas* (five hairs): the head, the cheeks, the chest, the armpits and the groin. We have heard of a form of *sadhana*, where a *sadhu* plucks all the hairs of his body one by one. If on the one hand long matted hair is a symbol of *sadhana*, on the other it is the plucking of hair one by one.

Darsana

The meaning of *darsana* is to see, to think, to observe, to have faith in. D*arsana* is view of man towards life. Humans have been curious about the elements around them. What is the relationship with these elements? What creates this relationship? what are the means to know? what to know? Why to know? How to know? etc.

Darsana is not separate from life whether it is Charvaka or Sankara they establish their *darsana* on the foundation of life. This is the reason that it not only deals with

"philosophy" i.e. *mimansa* of elements but also includes *Achara-sastra, Pramana-sastra, Kriya-sastra, Moksha-sastra*, etc. to name a few among many others.[49] The various d*arsanas* are Viz. *Charvaka, Jaina, Baudha, Nyaya, Vaiseshika, Sankhya, Yoga, Purva-minansa* or *Mimansa, Uttara-mimansa* or *Vedanta, Vyakarana, Pratyabhijna*, etc. to name a few among many others. The different *darsanas* pursue truth by different ways and methods and arrive at different views of reality (Mookerji 1969 [1949]:281). The diffrent *darsanas* tried to justify a theory of knowledge by an appeal to the analysis and interpretation of experience. The thinkers of different *darsanas* were accustomed often to meet together and defeat one another in actual debates (Dasgupta 1963 [1922] : 406) called as *vada*.[50] During our *anvekshana* several learned *sadhus* mentioned that, it is due to the virtual extinction of *sastrartha* that the intellectual life has undergone deterioration. Earlier for *sastrarthas* there used to be immense preprations, which subsequently led to the intellectual growth of each *sampradaya*.

Darsana is an "insight into nature of reality",[51] its final aim is "not only love of wisdom but life of wisdom".[52] *Darsana* is "vision of truth".[53] *Manu Sanhita* (6.74) informs us that one who has *darsana* becomes free as *darsana* destroys *sansara*.[54] *Darsana* emerges from practical necessisity and cultivate it in order to understand how life can be best led. *Darsana* is not merely for the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity, but mainly an enlightened

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[49]Vide-introduction tothe *Sarva-darsana-sangraha* by Uma Shankar Sharma.

[50]These debates were known as *sastrartha*. The U*panishads* have details of many of them. The Sakaracharya's *advaita mata's* supremacy was established during his time through this method. The prestige which these debates carried in the society were enormous, to an extent supreme. The result of these dabates was frequently very important in determining the prestige of the *sampradaya* which held according to its *mata* a particular *darsana*.

[51]Radhakrishnan, *Hindu View of Life*, p.15.

[52]P.T. Raju, *Structural Depths of Indian Thought* (preface).

[53]Chatterji and Datta, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, p. 2.

[54]vide ibid, p.4.

life led with far sight, fore sight and insight. Hence *darsanas* have to explain at the beginning itself that how it serves *purusharthas* (human aims).[55] *Darsana* is both "phenomenological and analytical," it is both analysis of "ordinary usage (*loka-vyavahara*) and description of how things are presented to the testimony of consciousness (*pratiti-sakshikah*)" (Mohanty 1992:6).[56]

Darsanas trace their origin from *Upanishads* which on their part have innumerable centres of intellectual activity. In *Brahma-jala-sutta* (literally, the net of *Brahma*, in which all "philosaphical theories" are caught up like fishes in a net), *Buddha* mentions as many as sixty two different "schools of philosophy" prevailing in the country even in that early age, together with many subdivisions of such "schools" which he criticizes and condemns in his pursuit of truth (Mookerji 1969 [1947] : 259).

The six *darsans* known as *Shatadarsana* are important from the point of their combinations and their role in providing the understanding of the overall worldview of *sampradayas*. This combinations are *Sankhya-Yoga, Nyaya-Vaiseshika* and *Karma* or *Purva mimansa* and *Sariraka* or *Uttar mimansa* or *Vedanta*. These three combination look at reality in totality.[57]

Jagat has two types of *padartha, achetana* and *chetana*. It is *achetna* which is subject

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[55]ibid, p. 12.

[56]Radhakrishnan observes:

In many other countries of the world reflection on the nature existence is luxury of life. The serious moments are given to action, while the pursuit of philosophy comes up as parenthesis. In the west even in the hey day of its youth, as in the times of Plato and Aristolle, it learned for support, on some other study as politics or ethics. In India philosophy stood on its own legs, and other studies looked to it for insipiration and support. (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol.I, pp.22-23).

[57]Sankara begins by defining the subject matters of *Vedanta* in his *bhashya* as *Brahma-jinjnasa*, "an inquiry into *Brahma*", and not *Dharma-jijnasa*, "the enquiry into *dharma* which is the subject of *Purva-mimansa*.

of *vicharasastra* and is called *vijnana,* whereas *chetan* related to *nirnaya sastra* is called *darsana*. On the basis of this Meetal (1947) works out a classification.

Darsana has mainly two parts *Vaidika* and *Avaidika*. Then there are two subparts of these two parts namely, *Isvaravadi* and *Anisvaravadi*. Hence there are four parts of *darsana*- (1) *Iswara vadi vaidika darsana*; (2) *Anishwaravadi vaidika darsana*; (3) *Iswara vadi vaidika darsana;* and *(4) Aniswaravadi avaidika darsana.*

Among *Iswaravadi vaidika darsanas, Uttara-mimansa* or *vedanta darsana* is main. In this are two matas-1. *Nirvisesha Brahmavada* and *2. Savisesha Brahmavada. Nirvisesha Brahmavada* is called *Advaita Vada'. Savisesha Brahmavada* is of five types. (1) *Vishnuparka; (2) Sivapaaka; (3) Sakti paraka; (4). Suryaparka*; and (5) *Ganpati parak of Vishnuparka Brahmavada* there are four *darsanika upvibhagas* 1). *Vishishta dvaita, 2). Sudhadvaita, 3).Dvaita dvaita and 4). Dvaita.*

The main aim of the different *Vadas* of *darsana* is to decide the form (*svaroop*) of *Brahma*, *Jiva* and *Jagat* and types of their *prakrta* relations. In different *Upnishads* and its *sararupa* (summary) *Brahmasutras* there are statements in whch there appears to be non-clarity among mutual relations of *Brahma, Jagat* and *Jiva*. For clarification, analysis and explanations of these non-clarity, different *bhashyas* were composed (pp.145-146).

There are several classification of *darsanas*; but Meetal's classification is interesting, as it provides, *achara darsana* relation at the sametime bringing *advaita mata* of *Dasnamis* and the *matas* of *Chatusampradayas* within its fold. The relationship between *darsana* and *sampradaya* and sistinctions based on it become amply clear.

Darsanas were not stirred up merely by the speculative demands of the human mind

which has a natural inclination for indulging in abstract thought, but by a deep craving after the realization of the purpose of life. It is surprising to note that the postulates, aims and conditions for such a realization were found to be indentical even in the conflicting *darsanas*. Whatever may be their differences of opinion in other matters, so far as the general postulates for the realization of the transcendental state, of summum bonum of life, were concerned, all the *darsanas* were practically in thorough agreement [Dasgupta 1963 (1922) : 71].

Every action of a *Dasnami* is regulated by the *darsana*. Swami Vidyananda Giri informed and, so was said by Swami Asangananda, that the *sadhus's* (*Dasnamis* in this case) aim is *advaita siddhi*[58] i.e. to realise the non-duality in every form of existence. They said this they do by stating in their *chitta* that "*Eko Brahma dvitiyo na asti*" i.e. there is only *Brahma* and nothing else exists.

Sadhana

Tapas is the soul of the conception of *sadhana*. Prajapati is said to have practised *tapas* prior to each act of creation.[59] *Rg- veda* utters: *Deva etasyam-avadanta purve sapta rshya-s-tapase ye nisheduh bhima jaya brahmannasyopanita durdham dadhati parame vyoman*. The *sukta* speaks of seven seers who attained direct vision of truth by means of tapas.[60] *Tapas* literally means heat.' Almost every legendary figure of the ancient times is said to have performed *tapas*. The role of *tapas* is central in the building of the *achara* and *dharma*. While explaining the *Sruti parampara* in the second chapter, we mentioned of *rshis* and *srutarshis*. Former endowed with *tapas*, were able to receive *mantras* and *srutarshis*

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[58]There is a text named *Advaita-siddhi* by Madhusudana Saraswati.

[59]*Satapatha Brahmana*, x.4.42; *Brhad. Up.*, 1, 26; *Taitt. Up.* II.6.1.

[60]Also see Chakraborti, pp. 4-5.

being not able to perform that degree of *tapas*, were made to receive through oration. The hearing of the *mantras* from *rshi* and simultaneously undergoing *tapas* awakens the latent capacities of *sishyas* to receive the *mantra*. The *Vedangas* and other streams of *vedic* studies were to expedite this process. The *Srutiparampara* and almost every other *parampara* is a product of *tapas*.

Sadhana is to be understood in relation to the *sadhya*. As the relationship is similar to that of *pramana* and *prameya*. *Sadhya* is achieved through *sadhana*. In almost all cases this *sadhya* is *Moksha*[61] , the ultimate liberation. Gita says: *yam labdhva chaparam labham manyate nadhikam tatah*: attaining which nothing remains to be attained. Different *sampradayas* have diffferent conceptions of *Moksha*. *Baudha darsan* considers the comprehension of four noble truths as *moksha*, *Advaita* considers the comprehension of *atma* as *moksha*, even Charvaka provides conception of *moksha* in the end of human life. *Moksha* is generally accepted as cessation of the cycle of birth i.e. and of all *karmas*. But there are other important notions of *Moksha* like that of *Vyakarana darsana*, which considers that *moksha* lies in expression. If one can express what one wants to express then it is *moksha*.

There can be two aspects of *sadhana*, an exoteric and an esoteric a bahiranga and an *antaranga* aspect. The *bahiranga* aspect is prepratory and the *antaranga sadhana* is very near to and closely intimate with *anubhava* or experience[62]. *Sadhana* includes *vairagya* and

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[61]There can be several ways of explaining *mokshas*. One is mentioned by Thoothi who considers it to be of four types: can *salokya*, which brings membership of the heavenly abide; *sarupya*, in which attaining the qualities and strength of ultimate *Moksha* is attained; *sayujya*, which is characteristic by merging of the individual soul into God; and *Kaivalya* wherein freeing himself from the ties of worldliness, the individual dedicates his entire being for the service of the living God for its own sake (1935:45).

[62]vide Brahma, p.65.

abhhyasa (practice). *Abhyasa* leads to *vairagya* and *vairagya* makes *sadhana* spontaneous[63].

What became amply clear during *anvekshana* is that solititude is an important aspect of *sadhana*. It is this which takes many *sadhus* to mountains or jungles, where their solitude is not disturbed. We visited several *sadhus* in the caves in remotest possible areas in the Himalayas during our journey to Badrinath. Amidst nature and its beauty they can pursue their *sadhya*. The place and its sanctity is important, e.g. the seven *moksha puris*, apart from the Himalayas, which is the most revered place for *sadhana*. The *sadhus* visiting the glacial mountains during *sadhana* and remaining their for long period without any subsistence, even clothes, is highly regarded. The *sadhus* explained various such incidents to us. These places are said to have a perrenial history of being the residence of great *sadhus*. *Sadhus* told us that this makes these places and their environment *jagrta* or (awakened) which makes the perseverance of *sadhus* smooth and pleasant, to attain their sadhya.

There are distinctions in the modes of *sadhana* in various *sampradayas*, that its details may need an encyclopedia to be written[64]. Yet the conception of *sadhana* is similar among them. Dasgupta observe:

> There was a unique unity in the practical *sadhana* of almost all the Indian systems. The religious craving has been universal in India and this uniformity of *sadhana* has therefore secured for India a unity in all her aspirations and strivings (1963[1922]:77).

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[63] *(Yoga-sutra 1.12)* and *Abhyasena kaunteya vairagyena cha grhyata (Gita* VI.35).Brahma as per these verses delineates *sadhana* into two phases (1) negative and (2) positive. These two sides are clearly marked in every important line of sadhana. The negative side is commonly referred to as *vairagya* (desirelessness) while the positive is designated as *abhyasa* (repeated practice) (Brahma, p.62). Brahma in absence of the clarity of the concept of *vairagya* makes such observences. *Vairagya* has been explained in the fifth chapter of this *prasthana*.

[64] Brahma makes an interesting observation:

"The *Tantrika* engaged in seemingly ugly and objectionable and sometimes horrible practices in the darkest hours of midnight at the dirtiest cremation ground, the *Vaisnava* closely engaged in removing the minutest particle of dust from the temple of the Lord and carefully anointing his body with sacred marks of sandal, the *Yogin* sitting erect with winkless eyes practising concentration in various postures of the body, and the *Vedantist* energetically performing the routine duties of life like an ordinary man and still and the while resting in the *Brahma*. (Absolute) consciousness, are all genuine representatives of Hinduism.

Sadhana in sanskrit means-means or medium. *Tapas* is a means to reach the highest states, which came to be referred as *sadhana*. The attempts to achieve any *sadhya* or goal can be called *sadhana*, but in several cases *sadhana* or *tapas* may be performed even without any attempt for any goal[65]. Among the contemporary *sadhus*, *tapas* is equally popular category as *sadhana*. *Sadhana* acquires a certain degree of institutionalisation, which is not the case with *tapas*. Among the contemporary *sadhus* there are five organs of *sadhana* viz. *Adhikara* (as explained earlier), *Visvasa* (faith). *guru diksha, sampradaya* and *mantra-devta*. It is these five organs which are considered to be helping a *sadhu* in acquiring the higher states in *sadhana*.

There are different forms of *sadhana*. Some of the prevalent forms of *sadhana* are *karma, jnana, yoga, bhakti, tantra*, etc. The difference among them are very diffused, every form of *sadhana* includes almost every other form of *sadhana*. Only difference if any is in the form of more stress being given on certain aspect.

Karma Sadhana

All the forms of *sadhana* accept that the realisation of *siddhi* (highest goal) is impossible unless one is purified in mind and body, and that this purification can come through *karma* alone. The term `*karma'* is utered in *Vedas* in a sense to denote *yajna*. It includes all actions, physical and a psychical, although there is penchant to limit *karma* to actions performed by the body only. The mental processes like *dhyana* and *vichara* (meditation and reflection) are generally excluded from the conception of *karma* by the

[65]There also is reference of *laukika sadhana* distinct from the *sadhana* performed by *sadhus*. *Sadhana* can also be referred as *laukika* and *alaukika*.

Advaitis. Hence *Karma sadhana* is a form of *yajna* itself. Y*ajna* at times is referred as synonymous to *sadhana*, e.g. *Jnana Yajna* for *jnana sadhana*, etc.

Yajna

The term *yajna* is derived from root *yaj*, to worship. Those words by which worship is performed are called *yajus*. Worship is performed in the form of what is called *yajna*. The *Veda* itself is to serve the purpose of this kind of worship or *yajna* which is performed primarily by the use of *yajus*, the Y*ajur sanhita*, counts as the most impòrtant of the vedic *sanhitas*[66] as its collection of *mantras* called *yajus*.

The object of *yajana* or worship is called *yajata* in *vedic* language. These *yajatas* are formless manifestations of the supreme Being or *Brahma* for whose worship there was no need of any material temple or shrine. The worshippers were called *Yajamanas*. They performed their worship or *yajna* by means of meditation or *manana* with the aid of words called *mantras*. Thus the utterances of the *mantra* was essential to the performance of this kind of worship or *yajna* by which the *yajata* or the deity was approached and invoked by mortals.

Besides the invocation, *avahan*, of the deity by the utterance of the proper *mantras*, the next requisite of a *yajna* is *ahuti* or sacrifice of oblations, of something which the worshipper holds dear and valuable. The *ahuti* is offered to *Agni* or Fire kindled in the *altar*, *vedi*, specially prepared for the purpose. Men approached God through *Agni* who invoked him on their behalf and is thus called the *Hota*. The esscence of *yajna* is thus sacrifice or offering as proof of devotion to the deity.

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[66]Vide Nalini Kant Brahma, Philosophy of Hindu Sadhana, pp. 126-127.

Vedic thought concieved of *yajna* as a symbol or representation of creation and its processes as understood by it. As each individual creature is fundamentally subject to the laws governing creation as a whole and is a part of the cosmic plan and purpose towards the fulfilment of which it is his supreme duty to contribute by his own self-fulfilment, the *veda* invented this most wonderful device of the *Yajna* as a visible picture of his *dharma* or religion to remind him of the laws of his being and of his supreme duty aforesaid. The conception of *yajna* is thus modelled on that of creation as presented in *vedic* literature and first indicated in the hymns of the *Rg-veda*, especially the hymns X, 81,82,90,121,129. Of these, X. 90 is the *Purusha-sukta* first presenting the whole process of creation as a *yajna*. At this primordial and original *Yajna*, the creator of the universe called the *Virat-purusha* created the universe by offering himself up as the sacrifice to provide the foundation upon which the structure could rise and rest and the very material out of which it could be constructed. The *Sruti, Rg.* X. 81, asks the fundamental questions. *"kimsvit asit adhishthanam arambhanam"; "Kimsvit vanam ka Sa Vrksha asa yato dyava-prithvi nishtatakshuh"* ; "*Yat adhyatishthat bhuvnani dharayan*"; "where was the place, what the material, where was the forest, and which the tree, to which the architet of the universe resorted in creating it?" The *Purusha-sukta* answers this question by stating that the *Virat-purusha*, wishing for creation, wishing that the one should Many (*asisha=vahu syam prajayeya* in X,81,1), found in his self-*ahuti* the only means of building up this wished for creation, for which he gave his own *ahuti* out of whose body was created the universe comprising nature with all its forces and agents like the sun and moon, organic and inorganic matter, different forms of life and society. The significance of this is that the Sruti says [Rg. x. 81. 1] : "*Sa asisha drvinamichchhamanah prathamachchhadavaran*

avivesa" [*Sa Prameswara asisha vahu syam prajayeya ityevam rupya punah punah sisrikshya dravinamichchhamanah dhanopalakshitam jagadbhogmakamkshamanah prathamachchh at prathmam mukhyam nish prapancham paramar-thikam rupam avrnvan avaran svasrishtan pranihri dayapradesanavivesa*" (Sayana) "He, the one, again and again, wishing to be many, wishing for the enjoyment of this world of riches, concealed his primary self (absolute and unconditioned) and created the world of objects and minds into each of which he entered." Man also like his creator, has to embrace mortality and the limited life of the world. Through the limits of individual life, the individual thus attains the absolute by *ahuti*. The *Purusha-sukta* also lays down "the doctrine of self-sacrifice as constituting the true worship of the Divine, while the device of *yajna* was evolved to give a concrete shape to this doctrine". (Mookerji 1951 [1947] : 7-8-9). The *ahuti* aspect is so encompassing thart even *Dasnamis*, who reject the *yajna* practice, their entire existence is based on this aspect in their of *sadhana.*

Yajna Karmanye vadhikarste ma phaleshu kadachana, Ma karma phala hetur bhurma to sangastva karmani. Gita lays emphasis on desireless action in every sphere of life and deals with the term in its wider sense. This actually is understood to be *karma sadhana*, where *yajna*, has become part, in one or the other form as part of every sphere a *sadhana.*

Yoga Sadhana

Yogasya chitta vrtti nirodhah (Patanjali, 1.1). *Yoga* is the cessation of vrttis of the *chitta.* Patanjali accepts the *sankhya* view of "bondage and liberation". "The bondage" of the *Purusha* (self) is due to ignorance and indiscrimination (*aviveka*), and liberation (*kaivalya*) can come from discriminative knowledge (*vivekakhyati*) alone. The bondage manifests itself through the five fold miseries (*klesas*) which human beings becomes subject to in

consequence of a mistaken identification of the pure, *chetana Purusha* and the unconscious (*jada*) *Prakrti* or rather the *sattva* aspect of *prakrti*. The *kleshas* are 1) *avidya* (ignorance), 2) *asmita* (egoism), 3) *raga* (attraction), 4) *dvesha* (repulsion) and 5) *abhinivesa* (craving to live). All of them result from want of discrimination between the pure and unconscious *Prakrti*, between *chit* and *jada*, and have made their descrimination difficult. As soon as the real nature of *purusha* or the self is apprehended through *Samadhi*, when all the *vrttis* (states and modifications) of *chitta* are ceased, discrimination results and its conjunction with *prakrti* ceases, putting an end to all *klesas*. All *karmas* result from the *klesas* and cease with their cessation[67].

Patanjali prescribes a form of *sadhana*, known as *ashtanga yoga (yoga* with eight organs). These eightfold *yoga* are:*Yama, niyam, asana, pratyahara, pranayama, dharna, dhyana* and *samadhi. Yama* is *Ahinsa* (non-violence), *satya* (truthfulness), *asteya* (absence of non-stealing), *brahmacharya* (celibacy) and *aparigraha (*abscence of hoarding) (2.30). In *Yoga sutra* it is stated that *yama* reach their highest stage when they transcend the boundaries of *jati*, *desha* and *kala* (2.31). *Niyama* are: *saucha* (cleanliness), *swadhyaya* (self study), *santosh* (contenment) and remaining in shelter of *Ishvara (God). Asana* is sitting in peace and stability (2.46). *Asanas* are various bodily *kriyas* (actions) which prepare the body for the higher stages of *sadhana*. These have been explained in detail in *Patanjalayoga-pradipa*. Patanjali says that *asana* is attained by perseverance manifested in ease through concentrating *ananta* (infinite) (2.47). *Asana* prepares one to face the savages of nature i.e. heat and cold (2.48).

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[67]Vide Nalini Kant, *Philosophy of Hindu Sadhna*, pp.126-127.

After attaining *asana* the control of life breath is *pranayama* (2.49). Through *pranayam* the viel on knowledge gets weakened (2.52). Through *pranayama*, the *mana* attains the quality of d*harna*, to concentrate it (2.53). The non-relatedness of senses in their subject and getting stated in their own self i.e. *chitta* is *pratyahara* (2.54). The stabilising of *chitta* on any one thing is d*harna* (13.1). The linear movement of vritti is *dhyana* (3.2). When there is consciousness of goal only and *chitta* loses its own self then it is *samadhi* (3.3). There are several streams of *yoga-sadhana*, and its various forms, form part of almost all *sadhanas*. The role of *yoga* is foundational for almost every stream of *sadhana*.In the *Natha pantha* which is also called *yoga-sampradaya, yoga sadhana* plays the constitutive role. *Dasnamis* reject *yoga-sadhana*. But during our *anvekshana*, we found them performing so.

Jnana Sadhana

Jnana sadhana is often referred as *atmopasana* particularly so with *Dasnamis*. *Atmopasna* literally translated will mean worship of self. It's highest goal is the attainment of the realisation of *Aham Brahmasmi*, i.e. the ultimate reality is the self. It is the discipline that believes in the absoluteness of *atma* accepts no other reality. That *atma* is *Brahma*. Nothing else exists and what seems to exist in fact does not exist.

Pure consciousness or *chit* which has been expressed by the terms *atma* and *Brahma* in *upanishad* has no gap (*anantara*) and no outside' or 'other' (*abahya*), and is thoroughly a homogeneous identity (*ekarasa*). Unless the *chit*, that manifests itself as the subject in the individual (*jiva*), realises such an absolutely homogenous, innermost essence and becomes merged in or rather identitifies itself with the same, there cannot be *mukti* or release from the

bondage of repeated births, and deaths, and there is no conscious attainment of immortality[68]. As chit or the inner essence of the spirit is perfectly homogenous (*ekarasa*) and does not admit of any self division (*anantara*), it is not liable to distruction, and true immortality or *moksha* is already existent with immediate realisation. This is *nirvikalpa pratyaksha* that is free from all relational content in the fundamental experience upon which the relational (*savikalpa*) experience is superimposed. *Mundaka upanishad* says: *Brahma veda Brahmaiva bharati* i.e. to know it is to be it[69].

Karma is taken as prepratory excercise. *Chitsukhacharya* observes that *karma* produces *jnana*, and *moksha* culminates from *jnana*. It is not to be supposed that *karma* and *jnana* are both useful to *moksha* directly. *Karma* removes obstacles in the shape of destroying the effects of the evil deeds and thus prepares the way to the attainment of knowledge.[70]

In *Vevekachudamani* a treatise on *jnana sadhana*, Sankracharya mentions of *sadhana-chatushtaya* or four fold *sadhana* (5.18). These are 1) *viveka* (the discriminatory capacity to ascertain the permanent and non-permanent); 2) *Vairagya* from *Laukika* (pertaining to day to existence) and *para-laukika* (transcendental) comfort indulgence; 3) *Shatasampatti* (six riches) i.e. *sama, dāma, uparati titiksha, sradhha and samadhana*; and 4) *Mumuksha* (pursuit for *moksha*) (5.19). *Brahma satyam jagat mithya* i.e. *Brahma* is existent and the world appearance is non-existent, this ascertainment is *viveka* (5.20). Through *darsana* and *sravana* (hearing) the ascertainment of detachment from *deha* (body) to *brahmaloka* (universe), the

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[68]vide Brahma, p.138.

[69]*11.2.9, Yo ha vai tatparmam brahma veda brahmaiva bharati. Brahma* is of the nature of experience (*anubhuti*), because to know an *anubhava* is to have the *anubhava* or experience, and it is to be it. Vide, Brahma, p.145.

[70]vide Brahma, p.173.

non permanent objects is *vairagya* (5.21). The detachment from cravings and establishment of *chitta* in the goal is *sama* (5.22). The directing of sense perceptions towards own goal is dama (5.23). Non sustenance of *vrtti* in external objects is *uparatti* (5.24). Without worry and sorrow the capacity to bear hurdles is *titiksha* (6.25). The ascertainment of truth in *sastra* and the uttternances of *guru* is *sradha*, through which goal is attained (6.26).

The other aspect of *jnana sadhana* is *sravana, manana and nidhyasana. Niddhyasan* is taken as *dhyana* also. *Dhyana* is concentrated *chit*, and *dhyana* reveals because everything is, in reality chit. *Dhyana* removes the gap and leads to right ascertainment. *Dhyana* or *niddhyasana*, which leads to *jnana* or *samadhi*, is the culmination of *manana* or critical reflection. The *Chh.Up* says--when one reflects then only one knows (VII.28). *Manana* prepares one for *niddhyasana. Manana* is also referred as *vichara* among *Dasnamis. Manana* implies a rational reflective understanding of the subject to provide a permanent hold over *chitta*. Prior to *Manana* is required *sravana* or hearing from the *guru* or *acharya* to know. This process of *sravana manana* and *niddhiyasana* forms the *jnana sadhana. Brahma* observes that *sravana, manana* and *niddhyasana* may be regarded as "*antaranga sadhana* (processes intimately connected with *jnana* or *aparokshanubhuti*) of *jnana*, being its immediate antecedents, the actions or *karmas* purifying the intellect, may be regarded as rather *bahiranga sadhana*"(1988:224).

Bhakti Sadhana

Bhakti is being possesed by the the Absolute. *Sa paranuraktirisvare (Sandilya sutra*, i.e. *bhakti* is supreme or sublime attachment to the Lord of the Universe. This attachment to

Isvara or the Absolute is *bhakti*.[71] The *Narada-Pancharatra* summarises *bhakti* "according to *Bhisma, Prahalada, Uddhava* and *Narada*, is attachment, mined with love, towards *Vishnu*, i.e. Lord of theUniverse and is the abscence of the attachment towards everything else".[72]

The principle of *Bhakti* lies in *Sarnagati* i.e. in shelter of the *Isvara*. Almost every *mata* of *Bhakti* accepts that the God cannot be realised without *bhakti*, Ramanuja criticising the *Jnana sadhana* says that mere listening the *sastra* (*sravana*), mere ratiocination (*manana*) and mere meditation (*niddhyasana*) have no competence for reaching the (Absolute) self, because the `*Sruti* says, "The self can be acquired neither by *pravachanena* (ratiocination nor by meditation (*medhaya*), nor by hearing of many sastras (*bahuna srutena*), but realised by him alone who is selected,[73], and that those who are joyfully dedicated to *Isvara* are dear unto him is expressed by the *Isvara* himself.[74] There is a difference of opinion as to whether supreme *bhakti* is by nature without with knowledge (*jnana-sunya*), or is attented by knowledge (*jnanamisra*). Ramanuja says that *Bhakti* in its highest stage, includes *jnana* within it, and he expressly states that the direct realisation of *Brahma (aparoksha jnana*) is nothing but *jnana* that assumes the form of *bhakti (bhakti rupapanam jnanam)*[75].

Sri sampradaya had two fold division very early in its history. One held the *bhashyic mata*, whereas the other *prabhandic mata* on the view of *prapatti* (Bhakti). The former gave analogy of the monkey whose young make active effort to attach themselves to their mothers. The *prabhandic mata* gave analogy with the cat, whereby the devotee, like a kitten, makes no

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[71]vide Brahma, p.251.

[72]vide. ibid, p.253.

[73]Bhagvad-Gita X, 10 and IX.29.

[74]*Priyatma eva varaniyo bhavati. Sribhasya* I.I.I.

[75]*Brahmasakshatkaralakshnam bhaktirupa-pannam jnanam. Sribhashya*.I.2.29.

effort with complete surrender and dependence upon the grace of God. As per the *Pushti marga*, the seven stages of *Bhakti* are, *bhava, prema, pranaya, raga, anuraga* and *vyasana*. Moreover *bhakti* had two aspects: *prema* or love and *seva* or service, of which latter could again be that of the body (*tanuja*), material wealth (*vittaya*) or of the mind (*manasa*). There is mention of *Navadha bhakti* among *Ramanandis* which includes viz. 1) *Sravana* (listening) 2) *Kirtana* (to sing in chanting in praise of *Isvara*) 3) *Smarana* continuous remembering of *Isvara*), 4) *Pada-sevan* (serving the feet of *Isvara*) 5) *archana* (to pray) 6) *Vandana* (to sing the glory), 7) *dasya* (surrender) 8) *Sakhya* (friendship), 9) *Atmanivedana* (to give oneself). This *navadha bhakti* or nine forms of *Bhakti* has given rise to various *panthas*. Krishna Dasa Kaviraja mentions five *Rasa-bheda* of *Krshna Bhakti* distinctions on the basis of *bhakti*[76]:

1.*Shanta Bhakti Rasa-i) Krshna Nistha.*[77]
2.*Dasya Bhakti Rass--ii) Krshna seva*[78]
3.*Sakhya Bhakti Rasa*--i) and ii) as above and iii) No dillema in mind for *Krshna.*
4.*Vatsalya Bhakti Rasa*--i) to iii) as above and iv) fondness towards *Krshna.*
5.*Madhura Bhakti Rasa* i) to iv) as above and v) total surrender in pleasure of *Krshna.*

Swami Vasudevananda Saraswati, *Sankracharya Badrikashrama* referred us to visit Ram Harshana Das ji for understanding the state of *bhakti* at *ardha-kumha-mela,* Prayag. We visited the highly revered *santa*, who was not conscious of his surroundings, only occassionaly replying to queries by devotees. We were told that his consciousness has become one with that of *Isvara.*

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[76]Meetal, p.328, quotes from Krshna Dasa Kaviraja, "*Chaitanya mata aur Braja Sahitya*, pp.96-97. There are sixty four organs of *Bhakti* mentioned in *Sadhana Ank*, p.536.

[77]*Nishtha* is dedication.

[78]*Seva* is service.

Tantra Sadhana

Tantra-sastra is said to be composed by *Siva* and is generally classified under three parts, viz. *Agam*, *Yamala* and *Mukhya-tantra*. According to *Varahi tantra*, in which creation, its final dissolution, methods of worship, methods of doing all activities and *sadhana* and its forms are explained is *Agam* (Gaud 1993[1938]:483). *Agam* are those *sastras* which *Siva* had said to *Devi* and *Nigam* are those which *Devi* had said to *Siva* (Dvivedi (1981: 170). *Tantra* is considered to be part of *kalpa* according to other view. *Kalpa* is said to have four parts, viz. *Agam, Damara, Yamala* and *Tantra* (Gaud 1993[1938]:484)

The Dasgupta's view is only partly correct on *tantra*, where he traces its history with the *achara* of the *Kapalikias* and *Kalamukhas*. Dasgupta observes:

> (These) sects arise in performing particular kind of rituals, and could be distinguished from other *Saivas* by their indulgence in wines, women and meat and even human meat. Somehow these rituals passed into *tantric* forms of worship are found among the adherents of the *tantric* form of worship even to this day. *Tantric* initiation is thus different from the *vedic* initiation (1962[1955]: 3).

Tantra sadhana consists of worship of *yantra* or diagrams representing god, *mantra*, *mudra* and *nyasa* i.e. *japa* of *mantras* (the *mantras* in *tantra* have no meaning unlike *vedic mantra* here they are just sound systems with significance in having capacity to make one realise the goal); various gestures made with fingers and movement of hands in different postures called *mudra*; the control of breath called *pranayama* to bring the diety within the body.

Tantras explain clearly that *Chit* and *Sabda* (illumination and vibration), represent two parallel aspects, the subtle and gross forms, of the same thing. *Nada* or *Sabda* is the very first manifestation of *chit* and is just adjacent to it. The external things and their shapes are

materialised forms of vibrations, and in them the *chit* becomes more latent and hidden. In *Nada* or vibration, the *chit* is not so materialised but retains much of its fluidity, and it is because of this fact that it is easier to awaken the *chit* element in and through vibration (*Nada*) than through external things and forms[79]. *Nada* is really intermediate between *chit* and *jada*, being niether so solid as external things nor so fine and absolutely immaterial as *chit* (Brahma 1988:281).

Tantras preach a new way *sadhana* that is accepted by many *sampradayas*.

It must be noted here with all emphasis that it is often wrongly believed that *Tantra* is identical with Sakta miscomprehension arrives because the *Sakti* is often worshipped as per *tantric sadhana*. *Tantra*, in fact, enunciates a form of *sadhana* in which we find the *karma* of the *vedas*, the *jnana* of the *upanisadas* and the *bhakti* of the *puranas* and the learnings of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. We found during our *anveksiana* that it is a synthesis of all the earlier forms of *sadhana*, and in fact, besides the *Buddhist Tantras*, we have the *Tantras* of the *Saivas, Saktas, Vaisnavas* and other *acharas*.

In this chapter we first attempted to understand the concept of *sampradaya*, and then work out its proper definition. The institutionalisation of *mata* through *guruparamparya* plays the constitutive role alongwith *achara* and dharma. *Achara* and *dharma* had been attempted to be understood in their various contexts. We then ascertained the relationship between *mata* and *sampradaya* how *mata* is formed and is institutionalised through its various forms of *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana*. *Achara*, *darsana* and *sadahna* when institutionalised through

[79]The *Yogis* hear the *nada* in the *sadhana* and their *moksha* lies in comprehending the *Nada Brahma* which is referred as *anahat nada*. A few of our informants, informed us of having heard the *nada*. The *nada* manifests when in deep *dhyana* or meditation.

guruparamparya become *sampradaya*. It is due to this reason that various matas are often called as various *sampradayas*. In common parlance *achara* is also referred as either *dharma* or *sampradaya*. Since *achara* plays the foundational role of *dharma* which has to be ascertained in its various contexts, it is often misconstrued with *dharma*, e.g.*Vaishnava dharma, Saiva dharma*, etc. Stating in such a way of *dharma* with *achara* is not wrong, but what is important to understand is that here the use of the category *dharma* is in a specific sense of *achara dharma*.

Achara is also often referred as *sampradaya*, e.g. *Saiva achara, Vaishnava achara, Sakta achara, Saurya achara* and *Ganapati achara* are referred as *Saiva sampradaya, Vaishnava sampradaya* and so on. These five *acharas* are also referred as five *sampradayas* in common usage. But these are not *sampradayas* but *acharas* and these *acharas* within them have various *sampradayas*, wherever they are constituted through *guruparamparaya*. Hence it is to be made amply clear that *achara* and *sampradaya, achara* and *dharma, dharma* and *sampradaya, sampradaya* and *mata* have distinct significance. The problem of category chaos between *sampradaya* and *achara* and *achara* and *dharma* also persists because of the twin roles of *achara* vis-à-vis *sampradaya*, i.e. constitutive and distinctive.

The use of category *pantha* and *marga* are also often seen. *Pantha* can be said to be a "*sampradaya*" without *guruparamparya*, faith is important in *pantha*, it may be to the founder of the *pantha* or to some scriptural text, e.g.*Nanak pantha*. The *pantha* also means a way of *sadhana* or the path of *sadhana*, we can say a following devoid of *guruparmparya* is *pantha*. *Marga* is often used in the sense of *sadhana*, e.g. *karma marga, jnana marga, bhakti marga*, etc. and at times in the sense of *pantha* also, e.g. *Ananda marga. Sampradaya*

is an unique institution of humanity, which stands at the backbone of continuity since the first utterances of *Rg-sanhita*. To the best of our knowledge no other institution of humanity accept family has maintained this continuity for such a long period. It is unique in the sense that it continues in the unbroken chain of *guru-shishya* since time immemorial.

Chapter - V

Sadhu
Organisation and The Way of Life

> Having taken the path to dedicate your life towards gaining immortality, May you know that the path that leads to it is that of complete surrender and dedication . Remember you are the child of immortality.
>
> ----***Atharva-Veda*** **15.17.10**

Rg - sanhita utters *sadhu* as going to his aim, straight, right (ii. 27.6) *Pantha Sadhuh* and *Sadhuh - karman* i.e. *Rjukarma* and *Bhadrakarma* meaning acting well (x.81:7) *Latyayana Srauta Sutra* regards *sadhu* as *Visvasanbhurvase Sadhukarma* i.e. righteous (i.1.7), *Taittriya-sanhita refers-Sadhu-ya* i.e. rightly (v.2.12.2)[1] *Garuda purana* says - one who is unaffected by reverence and humiliation and if humiliated do not utter foul words is a *sadhu*. *Sadhu* is always reluctant to self aggraidisment. And is compassionate who in other's grief forgets own joy. Like a tree saves others from heat and even partakes pain in dooing good for other. *Mahanirvana-tantra* says - who resides in *devayatan*, are *devakalpa*, determined and truthful are called *sadhus*. *Vishnu Purana* says - *Kalikala (Kaliyuga)*, women and *Sudra* are called *sadhus*.[2] According to *Sabda Kalpadraum- Sadhyati nishpadyati dharmadi karyam iti sadhuh* i.e. one who accomplishes *dharama* is a *sadhu*. *Amarkosha* refers *sadhu* as - *Arya, Sabhya, Sajjan*, i.e. cultured, civilized and gentleman.

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[1] Suryakant: *A Practical Vedic Dictionary*, Delhi:Oxford University Press,1981.Monier-Williams refers its use in the sense of anything directly reaching the goal unerringly, like an arrow or thunderbolt(*A Dictionary of Sanskrit*).

[2] *Hindi Visvakosha* (*Encyclopedia Indica*). *Hindi visvakosha* refers *sadhu* as- high birth, *Jina*, *Muni*, qualified, competent- (*samartha*), adept, *sajjan*(gentleman), and *sannyasi*. Tripathi informs us that *Hemachandra* uses *sadhu* as one who has controlled his senses i.e. *Jin* or *Muni*.

Etymolgically, *sadhu* is formed by the combination of two words, *sadh* + *u*. *Sadh* stands for - to perform and u for doer. Hence meaning - one who acts, performs. One who considers "I am the mine of all defects - why attribute merits to me ? Ignorance also is in me" is superior to all and is a *sadhu*. The gods do not attain a portion of his sixteenth part (*Sukraniti* : II. 616-618).

In the second chapter of this *prasthana* we have discussed the categories like *Muni*, *Yati*, *Urdhvareta*, *Tapas*, *Arana*, *Sramana*, etc. which imply *sadhu*.

Siddha, *Bhikshu*[3], *Parikansin*,[4] *Tapsi*, *Virakta*, *Vairangik*, *Santa*, *Aughara*, *Sadhaka*, *Atyasrami Avadhuta*, *Udasa*, *Sannyasta* etc. are some of the other categories of *sadhu*. *Sannyasi* is the most common name for *sadhus*, but as *sramana* and *bhikshu*[5] became the monopoly of *Bauddhas*, *sannyasi* became the monopoly of D*asnamis* . Similarly *Vairagi* and *Yogi* became synonymous with *sadhus* following the *Vaishnava-achara* and *Natha-Pantha* respectively inspite of being common denotations for *sadhus* in general. Ascetic and renunciant are categories for those with almost the similar way of life in the west[6].

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[3] Panini in *Astadhyayi* (IV.3.110.111) refers to *Bhikshusutras*-codes of conduct for *sadhus* proclaimed by *Parasarya* and *Karmandin*. *Mahabhashya* (IV.2.66) of *Patanjali* refers to *parasarino bhikshvah (Parasarin sadhus)*.

[4] *Parikansin* is a contemplative *brahamana* in the fourth stage of his life. He is the same as the *sannyasin*. The word also means a *sadhu* who devotes himself to abstract meditation or a contemplative saint(Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*).

[5] *Bhikshu* literally 'beggar'. The begging of the *brahmachari* is quite a different thing from the duties of *bhikshu* in the later system of the *Asramas*(religious stages of life), when the *brahmana* in the last stage of his life, after leaving his home and family, lives on alms alone.(*Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p.104, under entry *bhikshu*, see also Vol.I: *Brahmana*)

[6] The word 'ascetecism' is derived from the Greek word *askesis* which meant excercise and training for the purpose of strength, skill and mastery in the athletic games.
The Webester's dictionary (1962) defines an ascetic as 'one who lives a life of contemplation and rgorous self denial for religious purposes' or 'any one who lives with strict self discipline and abstinence'.
In the same dictionary we find asceticism as 'the practice or way that can reach a higher spiritual state by rigorous self discipline and self denial'.
The term also means in the *Gita*, to make, to deliver, entrust or commit to the care of : *mayi sarvani karmani sannyasadhyatmanceas*. As to the question what he renounces, apart from the world their are different answers. According to *Sannyasa Upanishad*, it is fire meaning the *Vedic*.

From the various explanations on the related categories of *sadhus* and the earlier explanation of the category *sadhu* itself, we now have some understanding of what *sadhu* is? During our *anvekshana* we observed that the category *sadhu* instead of the others, (*yati* being the strongest contender) is a common usage for all. The *'sannyasis'* of *Dasnami sampradayas*, *Vairages* of *chatuh-sampradyaa*, the *Yogis* of *Natha-sampradaya*, even *Jainis* and *Baudha bhikshus*, and others of various other *sampradayas* including *sants* and *udasa* of the *Udasina sampradaya* and also those who did not belong to any *sampradaya*, all called themselves as *sadhus*. *Sadhu* thus has an unique status of transcending the *sampradyic*, *panthic*, *margi* and *achara* barriers and becoming an universal epithet for those who posssed by *sadhutva* lived a life of *sadhana* and *tapsya*. *Sadhu* in general means a good human being and can be applied to anyone, but it has acquired a special meaning, for those who do not lead a family life, live in isolation or in the company of other likes in a secluded places preferably forests and mountains on the banks of pond or river. There are severe constraints in attempt to define sadhu.[7]

Tripathi (1978) defines *sadhu* :

> "as a person who adopts ascetic way of life as prescribed by his ordaining sect and subsects and who is pledged at least in principal to the performance of the acts of individual and social good as part of his obligation. Following this definition, a person to be called a *sadhu* must : (a) lead an ascetic way of life (b) engage himself in different socio-religious duties prescribed by different ordaining sects" (p.13).

He further refines his definition :

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[7] In August 1957 in the *Lok Sahba* a *Sadhu* Bill urging the registration if nearly six lakh sadhus and *sannyasis* was moved. The intention of mover of the bill was "to urge the increasing number of imposters and blacksheep roped in saintly saffron guise from committing unsocial acts". After an animated discussion the Bill was defeated as the government found it difficult to implement it. The reasons were twofold. Firstly, the law could not drag the nuns, *Budhists*, *Jaina* and *Christians* who had renouneed the world to line up with the *sadhus* (although this could have been solved by taking the meaning of *sadhu* to include them also, which at functional level exists) at a registration office. The very idea of registration was mundane to those who had left all social conventions. Secondly, the basic question was to define the terms *'sadhu'* and *sannyasis*, in terms of law. It was found an impossible task; for once taken to *sannyasa*, individual cases to have antecedents.vide Bhagat.

> "to become a *sadhu*, one has to satisfy two primary criteria namely, initiation into a sect and ritual disaffliation from one's household. Initation involves three processes which are as follows: (1) application of a sectarian mark on the forehead (2) Wearing a sectarian garb (3) Recitation of sacred principle, called *Mantra* which is ritually communicated to the novice at the time of initiation by his perceptor. Such persons who do not satisfy the above two conditions but are founders of some sect may also be called *sadhus*. Anand Murti, Rajnesh, Maharshi Mahesh Yogi are *sadhus* of this category" (1990 : 2).

This definition which is to the best of our knowledge solitary systematic definition of *sadhu* lacks on several counts. It stands only for *sampradayi sadhus* undergoing "ritual disaffliation" (i.e. *praisha mantra sanskara* or *virya* or *virja homa sanskara*) from "household" through initiation" (i.e. *disksha*) and following a particular *achara*. But we have come across *sadhus* who did not belong to any *sampradaya, achara, pantha* or *marga* leading a solitary life into intense *sadhana* and *tapsya*. Tripathi attempted to fill this lacuna through adding to his definition, "the founders of some sects". But we came across several *sadhus* at *kumbha mela* of Prayag and Haridwar as well as in the caves on the way to Badrinath, who did not recognize any *guru* and were yet in intense *sadhana* and are also not founder of any *sampradaya* or *pantha*.

On mentioning that, it is through *guru-diksha* that one should undertake *sadhana*, otherwise all *sadhna* is fruitless, i.e. *Sampradayahina nishphalah mantrah*, they said they are not diong this for any *phala*(fruit). They are not performing any *sadhana* but what they are doing is all due to because of they being filled with the thought of it and are unable to do anything else. One of them near Badrinath cited the example of Ramkrishna Paramhansa as a *sadhu* of their category. We further referred that Ramkrishna Paramahansa was given the *diksha* by Totapuri in the formal sense. To this the answer was that Totapuri on knowing the *siddhis* of Ramakrishna Paramhansa came to him and offered *diksha*, as he found in him the

true *sannyasi*. At that time the *sannyasis* were of such high standard that in order to keep the purity of the institution of *sannyasa* intact were always in search of the right *adhikari*. Totapuri found so in Ramakrishna Paramahansa. A few of them said that if someone approached them in the similar way they may consider to have *diksha*. A few of them said that they don't consider themselves to be *adhikari* for *diksha* until such situation arrived, till then they have no option but to pray and wait.

A very wide meaning is given to *sadhu* in *Matsya Purana* (144.23.24). It defines the four *asramas* as follows--The *Brahmachari* is one who tries to be useful to his perceptor by the devine means (learning) and in this he is called *sadhu* "one who attains"-*sadh*, "to attain". the *Grhastha* is *sadhu* due to *sadhana* and *karana* (means and purpose). Further, *Vaikhanasa* is *sadhu* in the forest, due to the reason of penance; the *yati*, who strives (*yat* to strive), is *sadhu* due to practice of yoga; and *sannyasa* is the discarding of all rituals.

Through our *anvekshana* and above analysis of other *pakshas* we came to regard *sadhu* as any person possessed by *Vairagya* and (a) leading a pious way of life (b) leading a pious way of life and is in process of *sadhana* (c) is in process of *sadhana* through *Guru* (d) is in process of *sadhana* through *Guru* in *guruparmpara* (e) has undergone the *praisha-mantra sanskara* (obviously through *Guru* may or may not be in *guruparampara*).[8] In this *prasthana* we are dealing only with the *sampradayi sadhus* of selected sampradayas viz. *Saivachari sadhus (sannyasis)* of *Dasnami sampradaya* and *Vaishnavachari sadhus (Vairagis)* of *Chatu - sampradaya* and to an extend *udasas* of *udasina sampradaya*.

[8] We came across *sadhus* who believed in *Guru* but not in *guruparampara*, for them *guruparampara* was binding, while is against the notion of *sadhutva*, i.e. *variagya* or *sannyasa*.

During our *anvekshana* we found that *sadhus* generally used the epithets, a sort of disignation, like *Srotriya, Brahmanishtha, parmahansa, parivrajak, acharya, mahamand elesvara,* etc. *srotriya* means one who understands the meaning of V*eda. Brahmanistha* is one who know *Nirguna and Saguna paramatma. Paramahansa* is one who knows permanent and non-permanent elements. *Parivrajak*-who is not attached to any form. These explanation was provided to us by Swami Vishnu Puri, *ardha-kumbha*, Prayag.

Sampradayi sadhus

Sampradayi sadhus are organised in various asramas, mathas, *amanayas, peethas, sangha samaja parishads* and *akharas* through their *marhis*. These institutions exist in continuity through *guruparampara* taking the shape of *sampradaya* over a period of time. The existence of asramas is oldest among them. These institutions alongwith family tradiions have kept alive the Sruti parampara and have acquired,preserved and transmitted the knowledge created over the milleniums since the time of the first utterances of the *vedic sanhitas*.

We discovered during our *anvekshana* that among the *Dasnamis* as well as *Chatu sampradaya, matha* is the most prevalent place for residence alongwith *akharas*. The *sadhus* who concentrated on scholarly pursuits alongwith sadhana are called *sastradharis* (holders of knowledge), wheras the other who are protectors of their *sampradaya, Pantha, achara* and *marga* concentrate on military aspect alongwith *sadhana* are *sastradharis* (holders of arms). The first *jati* of sadhus reside mainly in *mathas*. They also reside in *asrama, amanaya, peetha* etc.[9]

Asrama

Asramas have a history of unknown antiquity. The *Mahabharata* informs us of

[9] Among *Chatuh sampradayas* it is generally called *sthala* , *sthana*, etc.

numerous *asramas*, where pupils from distant part gathered for instruction around some far-famed leader. A full fledged *asrama* is described as consisting of several departmnets which are enumcrated as follows (1) *Agnisthana*, the place for fire worship and prayers; (2) *Brahma-sthana* the department of *Veda*; (3) *Vishnusthana*, the department of teaching *Raja-niti Arthaniti* and *Varta*; (4) *Mahendra sthana* (Military section) (5) *Vivasvata sthana* (Department of Astronomy) (6) *Somasthana* (Department of Botany) (7) *Garudsthana* section dealing with transport and conveyances. (8) *Kartikeya - sthana*, section teaching military organization, how to form patrols, battalions and army. *Naimishya, Kanva, Vyasa, Vasishtha, Visvamitra* and *Bhardvaja* are some of the famous *asramas* mentioned in *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. We visited the *Bhardvaja asrama* at Prayag (Allahabad), which now exists without it splendour mentioned in *Ramayana*. We encountered the *asramas* of various *rsis*, at Pushkar (Rajasthan) and at Rishikesh, Haridwar and Kashi (Varanasi). We had an opportunity to stay at *Kailash Ashram*, Rishikesh, which provided us with insights and details of the life of *sadhus*. Only *Naishthika brahmacharis* and *sannyasis* are the residents of the *asrama*. But it fits more into the explanation of *matha* rather than *asrama*, which is true for almost all the *asrama* existing in contemporary times.

Asrama forms through a and *srama*. *Srama* means, working hard, labour, toiling and stands for maryada (boundary of behaviour and act). Thus *asrama* means living within one's own *maryada*. *Asarma* is related to the stages of life as mentioend earlier. One needs to be within one's own *maryada* of *asramas*. We came across the category *purva asrama* during our *Anvekshana*, which stood for the previous stage of life, e.g. the *purvasrama* of a *grhastha* is *brahmacha*rya and its welfare and responsibility for material sustenance lies upon it. In mund. Up. (ii, 1.7) the observances of asramas are reffered to as *tapas, sradha, satyam brahmacharya*, and *vidhi*.

Matha

Matha - means in *sanskrit* - a hut, cottage, the retreat, hut or cell of a sadhu `*Madhati'* means to dwell. *Matha* stands for a place where the students are getting education. During the medieval period the most important educational agency of the time was the *matha*, which was really hostel or hall for students. *Mathas* were free feeding houses, where the poor and the infirm found board and lodging. (Venkataswara 1986 : 261). In *Panchatantra* direct reference to a *sadhu* institution called *matha* as a place where *sadhus* reside is made. Ghurye (1953 : 42) suggests that the term *mathayatana* appearing in the *Panchatantra* (1.4; 2:1) was a ."monastic-centre" located either in some isolated place or in a town attached to a temple of *Mahadeva*, i.e. *Siva*.[10]

Even in contemporary times as revealed by our survey of several *mathas*, the free fooding and lodging is provided by many of them to elderly, poor, infirm and certainly to *sadhus*, who are travelling across the country on their *yatra*. In these *mathas*, the staying arrangement for a *sadhu* is a matter of right and *mathas* have to compulsorily provide their hospitality to them. Although, the *mathas* have different rules for the period of stay of a *sadhu*.

If the *matha* belongs to same *peetha*, then it is presided over by a *peethacharya*, e.g. *Kailash Ashram's peethacharya* is Swami Vidyananda Giri. The *mathas* are generally residence of the disciples of the *peethacharya* of a particular *sampradaya*. *Kailasa Ashram* belongs to *Dasnami sampradaya*. One peculiarity of this particular *matha* is that it only provides the *diksha* of *naisthika brahmacharya* and not of *brahmacharya*. Hence any *Antevasi*

[10] Appadurai(1977:58), mentions the role of *mathas* in the power relations viz. the king and the general people in the medieval period in South India. For further historical details on *mathas* as "broadcasters of culture", refer" *Vekateswara*, 1986.

of the *matha* has to be *dikshit* by some other *Guru* as *brahmachari* and then with his permission, he can come to the *Kailasa Ashram* for *naisthika brahmacharya diksha*. This rule, we were informed was being made, to enable the *matha* to run for the higher learning open only to those with intention to be *sannyasis*. The *matha* has its own printing press and has published several works in Sanskrit. Swami Vidyananda Giri has a good reputation of being a scholar of high order in the Rishikesh Hardiwar region and has himself authored works on *Vyakarana* and *Darsana*. In Haridwar the *Dasnami sannyasa asrama* runs on the similar pattern.

In the mathas where learning plays an important role (e.g.*Kailasha Ashram* Rishikesh), one important designation is that of *Acharya*. The sadhus who are called as *acharyas* in a *matha* are supposed to be masters of their *anusasana* (discipline) like *vyakarana*, *darsana*, etc. Another distinctive method adopted in the process of learning is that the *antevasis*, who themselves are in the process of learning teach the parts, which they have already learnt to other other *antevasis* who have not yet learnt them.

It is believed that a person establishing a residence for *sadhus* ascends to "highest" regions of heaven". *The Bhagvati Purana* metions :

> "having carefully built, a furnished *matha* with rooms for sleeping and sitting should at an auspicious day be dedicated to sadhus. The *matha* must not be built during the famine and in auspicious days."

> The estabilshment of *matha* is one of the recognised modes of chartiy within the *Ishapurva dharma*. This paved the way for the establishment of large and affluent *mathas* in course of history. In contemporary times too the prosperous members of the sampradaya to which matha belongs influenced by the spiritual or intellectual power of the *Acharya* or *Mahant* of the *matha* donate huge amounts.[11]

[11] . Sinha and Saraswati observe, "From the total number of *mathas* established after independence it is obvious that the trend is not altogether unsatisfactory. For, in the past two decades they are being opened at the rate of 2 per year. If this is compared with the building of temples in city or the opening of sanskrit *pathsalas* and such other traditional institutions, we may find that the monastic institutions do not lag behind. Comparing it with opening of schools and colleges, hospitals and such other welfare institutions of the secular kind, the monastic institution may out number them individually. At any rate this establishes that the religious institutions have not lost ground at this stage of modernization of Kashi". (p.58)

We observed that the respect a *sadhu* commands depends on the degree of *tapas* or *sadhana* performed by a *sadhu, siddhis* acquired in the process, the humility in nature, duration of *sadhu* period, age, etc. *The naishthka brahmacharis* command more respect than others. In the *matha* or *akhara* the administrative position of an individual *sadhu* never overrides the factors mentioned above.

Mandalesvara

During our *anvekshana* we discovered another dimension to this whole process. Any *sadhu*, particularly among *Dasnamis* when acquires reputaion either due to his spiritual prowess or intellectual strength or both, the disciples starts flocking around him. When the popularity of such a *sadhu* acquires a certain level, the m*ahanta* and m*andaleshwaras* residing in *mathas* or *akharas* and being their *acharya* or *mahant* initiate the process to recognize such *sadhu* as m*andaleswara. Mandalesvara* literally means the king of a certain *Mandala* (can be either geographical space or group of people). To us it was explained as a *sadhu* who has a following among a *mandala* (group) of other *sadhus*. The m*andaleswaras* are formally recognized by *akharas* and other m*andalewaras* by putting a shawl over the *sadhu* by them (*mahant* in case of *akhara*). The m*andaleswara* thus recognized then gives *samashti* (collective east to the fellow *mandaleswaras* and the entire *akhara* to which they belong). This whole ceremony takes place during the *kumbha mela*, some of the ceremonies were attended by us . The perevalent name for such ceremonies is *bhandara* which in different form is prevalent among *Chtuh sampradayis*. There are two types of b*handara*- 1) *vyashti* and 2) *samashti*. In the vyashti form only *sadhus* of a particular *akhara* participate. In *samashti* form the other *akharas* and their *sadhus* also participate.

We came across several *mandaleswara* who did not reflect any spiritual or intellectual

power and have become so by the sole reason of their being able to organize *samishti*, which requires huge amounts, during the *kumbha mela*. These *mandalswaras* reflect the degeneration of an otherwise still a very effective, powerful, true to its vocation, and popular institution.

Our *anvekshana* revealed that each *akhara* has several *mandaleswaras* attached to it. A*khara* thus plays a central role in the organisation of *sampradyi sadhus*. Among the *Dasnamis* there are more than a hudnred *mandaleswara*, who are very influential and command respect and popularity (some of them even more than the *Sankracharyas*). The m*andaleswaras* are *paramhansa sadhus* which the sankracharyas are not hence this makes them spiritually of higher degree. But formally each of them accept the leadership and superiority in S*ankracharayas*. Each *akhara* has its *acharya mandaleswara*, who presides over the *diskha* of *sastradhari* (holders of *sastra*) *sadhus* apart from *sastradharis*, (holders of arms). The latter can also take *diksha* from any other *sadhu* of the same order. These *acharya mandaleswara* are highly respected and command almost equal status to that of *Sankracharyas*. We came across *mahamandaleswaras*, during our anvekshana. One of the explanations which was provided to us that regarding what maha mandalesvara means is m*ahamandaleswara* is one, whose own *sishya* (disciple) in his own life time has acquired the status of *mandaleswara*. These *mandaleswara* and *mahamandaleswaras* run huge *mathas* and during the *kumbha mela* organize huge camps with splendour. They are known for their scholarly pursuit and learned discourses, which are quite popular. *Acharya mandaleswaras* lead a*akharas* during the *Shahi-snana at Kumbha-mela*. In many of the *mathas mandalesvaras* play the central figure in the "structaration" of the *mathas*. The internal organisation of *matha* largely depends on the personality of its head.

Struggling Transplantative Process

Another striking feature, which we discovered was that many of the *mathas* have registered themselves as "Trusts" to avoid intrusions from the state through, various legal wranglings created through "secular constitution". Still several *mathas* which have not registered themselves as trusts run themselves as originally conceived. Many of them are sucumbing under the pressure to get themselves registered as "Trust" in order to protect their property from "secular state". It becomes difficult for the *mathas* to protect themselves from the state intrusions and its subsequent control. *Sri Panchayati Akhara, Mahanirvani* in its 'registration of trust' has clearly defined. Sri-mahanta, Mahanta, Karobari (secretary) Kothari, *Thanapati, Ramta pancha* etc., *Sri pancha* and executive is organised through *panchayati* method, where their duties and rights are clearly defined. What was striking is that these institutions structured in the panchayati spirit had to made modifications to suit the transplanted "democratic structures" through the constitutional framework and law.

Identity of *Sadhu*

We met many sadhus possessing ration cards and voter-identity cards as proof of their citizenship. The sadhus informed us that during the Ayodhya movement sadhus blame conscious of their voting rights and started participating in the electoral contests. Some of them even contested elections.

It was stated to us by various *Dasnami sadhus* that the identity of *sadhu* is of *Brahma* which is indefinable resting in '*Sruti* through *neti-neti* that is, that which has no end. This conflict is resolved through the concept of two forms of behaviours, the first *parmarthika* and the second *Vyaraharika. Parmarthika* is dealing with spiritual aspects whereas *Vyavaharika* with *Loka* hence it is also called *Loka Vyayahara*. The *sadhu* in his *chitta* has stated firmly

the notion of his being *Brahma* and is doing the other activities of *loka-vyavahara*, which constitutes as *Vyavaharika dharma i.e. deha-dharma* and *sampradaya, marga* or *pantha dharma*. This *Vyavaharika dharma* leaves no *sanskaras* on his *chitta* which is stated in *Brahma - chaitanya* to universal or absolute consciousness). Hence, even though a *sadhu* is involved in *loka-vyrahara*, he remains untouched by it due to the rigrosity of his *sadhana*. The structure of *matha* and the related other activities as mentioned above fall under the category of *loka-Vyvahara*[12].

Managing *matha*

The management of *matha* is of three kinds. (1) *Svayatana* or *Maurasi* in which the office of the Sri mahanta is given to the disciple of the existing mahanta who, moreover, usually nominates him as his successor; (2) *Panchachyatan* the office is elective, the presiding *mahanta* being elected by an assembly of *sadhus*; and (3) *Hakimi* - the appointment of presiding *mahanta* is rested in the ruling power of the party which has endowed the temple (Sinha and Saraswati 1978; 44-45).

Mathas are organized on heirachical pattern by *sadhu* office bearers. The apex authority rests in the *mahant*. All powers rest in him. Below him are the following office-bearers, (1) *Adhikari*; he is deputy *matha* - head, (2) *Kotwala* (provost) (3) *Mukhtiyara* : He looks after the legal affairs of the matha and keeps necessary documents. (4) *Kothari* : (quarter-master) (5) *Pujari* (priest) (6) *Parbhatiya* : He cleans *puja* utensils and helps the priest. Major areas of *matha* administration and management are : (1) Maintenance of *antevasi*

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[12] The use of equipments in running of the affairs of *matha* and *akhara* is quite prevalent e.g. watches, record players, electricity, telephone, public transport, etc.
Tridandi Swami, who we visited at the Prayag *ardha kumbha*, 1995, follows a very rigorous *sannyasi* life. he always lives on the bank of a river, do not use electricity, washes his own clothes and sleeps on floor of *kusha* (type of grass) bed, even at the age of above ninety years.

register. In this the place of origin of the inmates are recorded. It include address, his pre-*diksha* name, his age, his *sadhu* name etc. (2) Arrangement of the boarding and lodging of the guest *sadhus* (3) Account maintenance of the asset and liability of the *matha*. (4) Maintenance of expenditure and purchase account, litigation and account maintenance of the offerings required (5) Resolution of intra-*matha* and inter-*matha* disputes (6) *Prakashan Vibhaga* publishing department (7) *Karyalaya* (office), which keeps all the records including that of the *grhasthas* attached to *matha*. We found almost similar pattern-among the *akharas* as well Tripathi (p.4) mentions the first five *Kailash Ashram* had *prachara vibhaga* also which dealt with the propagating of Ashr*ams* ideals.

Organisation of *mathas*

Sankracharya established the four *mathas* at four corners of the country and laid down rules for their governance under *Mathamnayasetu*, a text prepared by *Sankracharya* for four *mathas*. These four *mathas* are also known as four *dhama* and are important m*athas*, to be visited compulsorily in one's life time. We are giving the details below as given in *Mathamnayasetu* of S*hankracharya* in the appendix of *Sri Sankara Digvijaya* of the four *amanayas* also known as *mathas*:

Amnaya or *matha* or *Puri*	*Paschimamnaya* or *Sarda matha* or Dvarka Puri	*Purvamnaya* or *Govardhan matha* or Jagannatha Puri	*Uttaramnaya* or *Jyotirmatha* or *Badrikasrama*	*Dakshinamnaya* or *Sringeri matha*
Kshetra (Area)	*Dvarka*	*Purushottama*	*Badrkasrama*	*Ramesvara*
Adhisthata deva or Presiding diety	*Siddhesvara* and *Bhadrakati*	*Jagannatha* and *Vimla*	*Narayana* and *Purnagiri*	*Adivaraha* and *Kamakshi*
Brahmachari	*Svarupaka*	*Prakasaka*	*Ananda*	*Chaitanya*
Vakta	*Samaveda*	*Rgveda*	*Atharvaveda*	*Yajurveda*
Mahavakya	*Tat tvam asi (Ch.Up.6.8.7)*	*Prajnanama Brahma (Ait.Up.5)*	*Ayam atma Brahma (Man. Up)*	*Aham Brahmasmi (Br.Up.1.4.10)*
Area governed	*Sindhu,Sauvira, Saurashtra,Maharastra* and other areas covered in the west.	*Anga* (Bhagalpur) *Banga* (Bengal), *Kalinga* (Area between Orissa and Madras) Magadha (Bihar) Utkala (Orissa), Varbara (Jungle area)	*Kuru* (Delhi and adjoining area)Kashmir, *Kamboja* (Punjab) Panchala etc.	Andhra,Dravida, Karnataka, Kerala,etc.
Ankita pada	*Asrama* and *Tirtha*	*Vana* and *Aranya*	*Giri, Parvata* and *Sagara*	*Sarasvati,Bharti* and *Puri*
Tirtha	*Gomti*	*Mahodadhi* (Sea)	*Alkananda*	*Tungabhadra*
Sampradaya	*Kitvara*	*Bhogavara*	*Anandavara*	*Bhurivara*
Gotra	*Avigata*	*Kashyapa*	*Bhrgu*	*Bhur bhuvah*
Acharya	*Hastamalaka*	*Padmapada*	*Tortaka*	*Sureshvara*

Apart from this *Sankracharya* in *Seshamnayasetu* mentions some other *mathas* or *peethas*. The text is lost. Three *mathas* or *peethas* are mentioned in the appendix of *Srisankaradigvijiya* under the title *seshamanaya* as follows :

Amanaya or *matha* or *peetha*	*Urdhvamnaya* or *Sumeru matha*	*Atmamnaya* or *Mahan parmatma matha*	*Nishkala Amnaya or Sahasrakardyati matha*
Kshetra (area)	*Kailasa*	*Nabah sarovara*	*Anubhuti*
Adhisthata deva (presiding diety)	*Niranjana* and *Maya*	*Paramhansa* and *Manasi Maya*	*Visvarupa* and *Chichhakti*
Vakta	*Sukshmaveda*	-	-
Pada	*Satya* and *Jnana*	*Yoga*	The sandals of *guru*
Tirtha	*Manasa*	*Triputi*	Listing of good *sastras*
Sampradaya	*Kashi*	*Satvatosha*	*Satsishya*
Acharya	*Isvara*	*Chetana*	*Sadguru*

Ghurye holds that *Dasnami sannyasis* fall under three categories viz. *Dandi*, *Paramnansa* and *Naga*. This classification is not correct and suffers from category-chaos as Ghurye himself puts it. We have atteempted such a classification later in this chapter. Here we want to mention that *Dasnamis* are *sadhus* belonging to *Dasnami sampradaya*, whereas *brahmachari, dandi* and *paramhansa* are stages in the life of a *sadhu*. One important feature which we encountered during our stay with *Dasnamis* is that they greeted with the pronouncement of "*Om Namo Narayana*," *Narayana* is considered to be a *Vaishnava* diety. Ghurye(p.87) informs that *dandis* of the *padas Asrama*, *Bharti, Sarasvati* and *Tirtha* greet with `*Namah Sivaya'* (We could not verify this).

Naradaparivrajakopanishad enunciated the way of *sannyasa-diksha* followed by these *sadhus*. The main *sanskaras* are *sradha*, *savitri-mantra* and *Virja homa*. *Dandi sannyasis* hold *danda* (made of bamboo shaft on whose upper part is tied *Yajnopavita*) [sacred thread] and saffron cloth). The *danda* is covered by saffron cloth in most of the cases. *Dasnami sannyasis* of only *tirtha, asrama* and *saraswati pada* can be *dandis*.

Brahmacharyasrama samipya grhi bhavet, grhi bhutva vani bhavet, vani bhutva prabhajet : Sannyasa asrama should be entered through the other *asramas*. The significance of *Sannyasa asrama* is enhanced as one can enter it directly from *brahmacharya asrama* (Tripathi 1988 : 98) Those who give away *danda* within seven days of *sarnnyasa-diksha* are called *tyakta dandis*. They are of two types viz. *paramahansa* and *naga*. As mentioned earlier, *mandalesvaras* are *paramhansa sadhus*, whereas *Sankracharyas* are *dandis*. *Paramhansa* are called *digambaras* also and are both *sastradharis* (holders of sastra) and *sastradharis* (holders of arms)

Among the *Chatuh sampradayis*, the abode of *sadhus* is known as *sthana* or *sthala*, *mutt* or *matha, astara, sangat* etc. But *matha* is the most prevalent form of their residence, and is run" on the pattern as explained earlier.

Akhara

The *akharas* are a special type of organisation of *sadhus* who are on the one hand are well versed in *sastras* and on the other hand they are well equipped and trained in arms (*Agratah chaturvedah drshtatah sasrama dhanech, dvabhyami adih samyasmi sapena cha khadagena cha*)[13].

Sarkar considers *madhi* as the recruiting ground for *sadhus*, the *Dasnami sadhus*, excepting the *dandis*, admitted are divided into 52 *madhis* - also known as *dhunis*.[14] In an

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[13] The Sanskrit Verse is taken from *Kumbha mela* report, 1985.

[14]. Ghurye(op.cit.,p.119) writes "Every *Akhara* is further divided into eight such units called '*davas*'. A *dava* according to best information we could sift appears to be a quarter. And as there were eight quarters in the universe the number of *davas* is said to be eight. In the formation of these '*davas*, we gather, the particular order of the *Dasnamis* into which a *sannyasi* is orginally ordained plays an import part. What it is exactly we have been unable to ascertain.
There are 52 *Marhis*, which were originally distributed as follows according to Sarkar 57: Under the Giris 27, Under the Puris 16, under the Bhartis 4, under the *Vanas* 4; under the lamas -1. For the detail list of this *marhis*, refer, sarkar,pp.57-58.

akhara all the 52 *Madhis* - also known as *dhunis* are grouped under 8 davas means claim. Thus through rotation each *dawa* gets a chance to elect Sri Mahant of a particular *akhara* during *kumbha*. We found during our *anvekshana* that all the *Dasnami sadhus* in some or the other form are related to akhara. The *sastradharis* (armed) and *sastradharis* except *Dandi's* who generally belong to the tradition of four *peethas* forming direct *guru parampara* from *Sankracharya*. *Akhara* is derived from *Akhanda*, which means organised.

There are seven principal *akharas* of *Dasnamis* as recognized by the report of 1989 *Kubha - mela* administration. In 1995 *Kumbha mela* at Prayaga and 1998 *Kumbha-mela*, Haridwara, the same were given the status of principal *Akharas*.

Akhara	***Ishta-deva***	**Head office**
Juna or Bhairava	*Dattatreya (bhairava)*	*Kasi*
Avahana	*Ganapati Dattatreya*	*Kasi*
Niranjani	*Kartikeya*	*Prayaga*
Mahanirvana	*Kapila*	*Prayag*
Agni (attached to *Juna)*	-	-
Ananda (attached to *Niranjani*)	*Surya*	*Kasi*
Ananda (attached to *Mahanirvani*)	*Ganesa*	*Kasi*

Above classification reveal that there are four independent *akharas* and three are attached. Apart from these there are *Alkhiya, Sukhada* and *Gudada akharas* attached to Juna. At the time of *kumbha mela* we encountered several *akharas* apart from those mentioned here. *Chatuh-sampradayas* have seperate organisation of *akharas*. One striking feature which came to our notice was that the *sadhus* of *Nirvani akhara* fold their *jata* (bundle of hair) on

the right, *Niranjani* in the middle and the *Juna* on the left. The *sadhus* of the *Juna akhara* are very particular about their *dhunis*(holy fire). One of the *naga sadhu* of the *Akhara* informed us that *dhuni* is the symbol of *naga* existence.It teaches *svavalambana* (self-reliance). A *naga* with *dhuni* is not dependent on anybody else. We found that *naga* of *Juna* assert their individuality more than other *nagas*. They are more strict in following the *achara* and remain naked most of the time. On the other hand *nagas* of the U*dasina akhara* were more polite and humble.

Panchayati* Organisation of *Akharas

As explained earlier among the *sadhus*, the succession of *matha* or *akhara* is based on three principles (1) *Swayatana or Maurasi*, (2) *Panchayatana* and (3) *Hakimi*. The *Panchayati* form is accepted by *Akhara*. It is essential for *Akharas* to include *panchayati* in their name. During our *anvekshana*, we found that *akharas* in their full name include the epithet *Panchayati*. The complete name of *Mana Nirvani Akhara* is *Sri Panchayati Akhara Mahanirvani*. *Panchayati* means that the organisation is elected through consensus and unanimity. In this process, discussions over a prolonged period of time takes place and through discussions among the sadhus, the *pancha* is elected. This election actually takes place at the *dava* level and not at the level of a*khara* as a whole. *Dava* is claim by a group of marhis numbering 52 and divided in 6 or 4. It is at the level of *marhi* that the actual election takes place. The m*arhis* are distributed all over the subcontinent and the *dava* method, hence provides representation, as per the region. *Dava* literally means 'claim'. The unit whereby *madhis* combine to assert their claim in the orgainzation of the *akhara* is called *Dava*. Once the *davas* are organized they become important only for the purpose of elections. For, the *Sambhu pancha* elects *Sri mahanta* one from each dava and accordingly the number of *Sri*

mahantas depends upon the number of *davas* an *akhara* possesses. These eight or four *Sri mahantas* thus become the representative of all the 52 *Marhis*. *Sri* mahantas appoint karobaris, each from their respective *davas*; and alongwith the other members of different *marhis*, known as d*hunibala*, constituting a body known as *Sri Pancha* which is the administrative head of an a*khara*.

We observed that *sadhus* all the time are on *yatra*, mainly to various *tirthas*. The only period in which they stay at one place is chatur-masa the four months of rainy season. The period in which they cannot travel, the period is utilised in *svadhyaya* (self study) and *manana*.The entire moving population of an *akhara* is divided into a number of small units called *jhundi*. For each *jhundi* one senior *sadhu* is selected as a *mahanta* by the *Sri Pancha*. The *jhundi mahanta* is duty-bound to work under the instructions from *Sri-mahanta*. The *Sri Pancha* also appoints *thanapati*, one from each *dava*, to look after the properties of the *akhara*. Therefore, the number of *thanapati* also depends on the number of *davas* in an *akhara*. One may hold the office as the *thanapati* for the whole of his life. The decision regarding any matter can be taken only when all the four or eight *Thanapatis* assemble and reach an agreement among themselves. No single *thanapati* can take discision independently. The posts of *thanapati* is very important and responsible; and hence it is usually given to a senior trustworthy *sadhu* who have retired from the office of *Sri pancha*. Thus in his lifetime a sadhu of an akhara holding the highest post of *Sri pancha* has to come down to the post of *thanapati* to work under those who were once his subordinates. The organization of the *akhara* is such that there is no room for the pride of power. At every step the absolutism of an individual is curbed. No discision, whether big or small, can be taken by any individual at any level. Although the council of the *Sri pahcha*, distributed in *jhundis*, tours eight months

in a year (encamps at one place during *chatur-masa* i.e. the four months of rainy season) they remain in touch with their main centre or *akhara* where the *thanapatis* manage offices. The *Sri pancha* has the authority of appointment and dismisal of of the *thanapati* or any other authority in the centre or the branches of *akhara*. Finally, it is the larger council of the *nagas* known as *Sambhu Pancha* which is the supreme body to decide all matters of vital interest to the *akhara*.

During our *anvekshana* the *panchayati* spirit is quite visible in the working of *akharas*. The *akharas* have formed an all *akhara* organisation called *Akhara Parishad*, whose secretary is elected by *akharas* and then nominated to the *parishad*. It is Akhara *Parishad* which negotiates over various issue with government and other bodies. During the *ardha kumbha, mela*, Prayag the *Akhara Parishad* decided that the *Shahi-snana*, undertaken by *naga sadhus* by proceeding to *sangam*, the meeting point of *Ganga yamuna* and Saraswati (now disappeared) in huge procession (many of the *Sadhus* ride in elephants and horses and display their armoury) will not be undertaken as the arrangements at *mela* for the *sadhus* was not satisfactory. This boycott by *sadhus* of the *snana* (bath) on an auspicious day on the issue of negligence by administration created a furore. The public opinion turned against the administration as the *sahi-snana* is considered to be a holy and pious activity essential during the *Kumbha mela*. The largest gathering of humanity takes place at these days.[15] Later administration took cognizance of the complaints and *sadhus* got ready for the second *Sahi-snana* The whole process of interaction for the cause of *sadhus* was done by the office-bearers of the *Akhara Parishad* on behalf of the *sadhus* alongwith some prominent sadhus.

What is called *madhi* among the *Dasnamis* is the *Dvara* for *Chatu-sampradayis*. The

[15] More than one crore people had gathered at *ardha kumbha mela*, Prayag, on *mauni amavasya*, an auspicious day whose merit chanced for falling on Monday.

52 *dvaras* among the four so[16] *sampradayas* is distributed as follows : *Ramanandi*-36; *Nimbarka*-12;*Madhva*-2 and *Vishnusvami*-2

The organization which binds the sadhus of *dvaras* together at close interactional level is *akhara*. The *Vaishnava sadhus* are organized into three *anis* and 57 *dvaras*. The three *Anis* are further grouped under eight akharas, and dividied into eighteen sections.

The *sadhus* in the *Akhara* are known as *akharamallas* or *Rakami*. They follow strictly the rules of *Akhara*. The rules and regulations of the *sampradaya* regulating *mathas* and *asramas* are not binding on them. The *Akharamallas* organisation is *panchayatan* A *Vaishnava naga* passes through seven stages of Yatri, Chhora (in these two stages the *naga* is supposed to serve the *guru* and the *akhara* and pursue studies), *Bandagidara, Hurdanaga* looks over the activities of *akhara* and receive and master training in arms). *Mudathiya* (is the advanced stage of the previous two and looks after accounts) *Naga* (The duties of a *naga* are related to administration and protection of akhara, and the seventh and final stage is that of *atita. Atita* is always absorbed in worship and look-after the spiritual well being of the *Akharamallas*. They are concerned only with the important issues of the *sampradaya*.

From the *nagas* and the *atitas*, the *Sadar* (Chief) *naga* is selected by *pancha*. He is offered kanthi (beads), a Katori (cup) and some other presents by *pancha*. *Kotavala* is accountable to *Sadar naga* who forms a *jamata* and wanders to various places for twelve years to propagate *Vaishnava dharma* and collects resources for the *Akhara*. A *Maha Atita* is the most respected person in the *Akhara* and is occasionally concerned on issues of utmost concern for the *Akhara*.

We observed that not as elaborate as *Dasnami akharas*, the Chutu-sampradaya

[16] From *sri Sampradaya, Ramanandis* are represents while from *Rudra, Vishnuswamis*.

akharas too follow the *panchayatana* form of organisation. There is an executive body of *pancha* and *sar-pancha*, which helps *mahanta* in administration. The selection of *mahanta* is done by *Maha-Atita*. The *Mahanta* cannot disobey the *pancha*, if he does so he is removed. *Golaki* looks after the *akhara* accounts and his presence is must when *purohita* (priest) give charge of worship to another *purohit*.

Khalsa

One of the *mahantas* of *Chatuh-sampradaya khalsa* told us that *khalsa* is taken in the sense of unity and were formed to fight the muslim agression. It is taken to mean armed front and were earlier moving armed force. It is believed that *Guru Nanak* used the term *khalsa* and it is perevalent among *sikhs*. On the similar pattern the *khalsas* are organised among *Vaishnava*, which is known as *Chatuh-sampradaya khalsa*. This *Chatuh-sampradaya khalsa* is build by bringing together *Ramanand, Nimbarka*, *Madhva-Gudiya* and *Vishhnuswami sampradayas*. Each *sampradaya* has its *mahant* in this organisation and *Sri mahanta* is from the *Ramanand sampradaya*.

During our *anvekshana* we found that the process of building a *khalsa* by a *sadhu* is similar to that of becoming a *mandaloesvara* among *Dasnamis*. The *sadhu* intending to build one's own *khalsa* has to approach the *mahants* of *Chatuh-sampradaya* and one *Ani*, and request for permission to build a *khalsa*. After being granted permission the *sadhu* invites *panchas* for *Bhandara* similar to that of *samishti* in *Dasnamis*. In the ceremony he is given shawl, rosary and *tilaka*. These *khalsas* are related to *dvaras*, the *mahanta* of a *khalsa* cannot give *diksha* to a *naga*. Among *Dasnamis* the *acharya mandaleswara* of concerned *akhara* does give *sannyasa diksha* to *nagas*. In case of *Dasnamis* the *sidhu* to become a *mandalesawara* is approached by *mandalaswaras* and *akharas*. Here it is other way round.

Some important *khalsas* apart from *Chatuh sampradaya khalsa* are:

Dakor Khalsa : Exclusively of Ramanandis. The *sri-mahanta* and other assistants are from *Dakor gaddi* in Gujarat.

Brahbhai Dandiyan Khalsa : Again exclusively of *Ramanandis*. It has one *Sri-mahanta* with eleven assistants and is a very big *Khalsa*.The *khalsa* was established by *Sri Driramadasa* and *Sri Jagnnatha* played an important role in its expansion.

Tyagi Khalsa--*Sri Siyarama Dasa* had build this *khalsa* and is also called *Terah bhai Tyagi khalsa*.This also belongs to Ramanandis with thirteen *mahantas*. The members are largely *Tapsis* (body besmeared with ashes) and is the biggest *Khalsa*.

Mahatyagi khalsa--*Sri Baldeva* had build this *khalsa* and is also known as *Chaudah Bhai Mahatyagi khalsa*.

Nandrama Dasa khalsa--This *khalsa* was established by the *Sishya of Dhirama Das, Nandrama Dasa*.

Some of the other *khalsa* are *Virakta mandala khalsa, Sri Saptarshi jamadagni khalsa, Sri Visvamitra khalsa, Vasishtha khalsa, Akhil Bhartiya Pancha Saptrshi Khalsa, Akhil Bharatiya Sri Kamdhenu Khalsa*, etc.[17]

There are small *khalsas* like *Nandarama dasa Dhiramadasa khalsa, Sarptrshi Khalsa, Raslama khalsa* and *Maha tyagi Khalsa* (1976 : 128-129) In the 1989 *Kumbha mela* the total number of *Khalsas* were 154.[18] Following is the chart of various *Anis* and *akharas* alongwith their *baithakas* in relation to each other:

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[17] Sinha and Saraswati have mentioned some of these *khalsas*.

[18] Report of the Mela Administration, 1989, *Kumbha-mela*, Prayag Dvivedi, J.N., p. 66.Elric Barlo Shivaji *in Ujjaina ka kumbha*, provides a list of 41 *khalsas* visiting the *Singhastha parva (kumbha-mela,)* 1980 at Ujjain, pp.31-33.

Nirmohi Ani

Akhara	Sub-section	*Baithakas*
Nirmohi	*Ramanandi Nirmohi*	Vrindavan, Ayodhya, Puri, Nasik, Chitrakoot,Ujjaina, Govardhan etc.
	Vishnuswami Nirmohi	Vrindavan,Bundi,Kota
	Nirmohi Maladhari	Vrindavana
	Radhavallabhi Nirmohi	Vrindavan,Neem ka Than (Jaipur)
	Jhariya Nirmohi	Vrindavan,Neem ka Than (Jaipur)
Mahanirvani	*Ramanandi Mahanirvani*	Vrindavana,Ayodhya, Chitrakoot etc.
	Hariivyasi Mahanirvani	Vrindavana
Santoshi	*Ramanandi Santoshi*	Ayodhya,Chitrakoot,etc.
	Harivyasi Santoshi	Puri

Digambari Ani

Akhara	Sub-section	*Baithakas*
Ramji Digambara	-	Vrindavana, Ayodhya, Chitrakoot, Nasik, Ujjain, Puri
Shyamji Digambara	-	Vrindavana, Puri

Nirvani Ani

Akhara	Sub-section	*Baithakas*
Nirvani	*Ramanandi Nirvani*	Vrindavana, Ayodhya, Chitrakoot, Ujjain, Puri, Govardhan
	Harivyasi Nirvani	Vrindavana
	Balbhadri Nirvani	Vrindavana, Puri, etc.
Khaki	*Ramanandi Khaki*	Ayodhya, Chitrakoot, Nasik, Ujjain, Puri
	Harivyasi Khaki	Not known
Niravalambi	*Ramanandi Niravalambi*	Vrindavana, Puri
	Ramanandi Tatambri	Vrindavana

We have seen the four fold divisions among the *Saivas* organized as *Dasnamis* and *Chatu-sampradayas*. This four fold pattern is followed by *Udasina sampradaya* of *Sri Chandracharya* (son of Guru Nanak). It is called the four *paddhatis* based on region i.e. *purva* (eastern), *paschima* (western), *uttara* (northern) and *dakshina* (southern). *Virja havan* among *sadhus* of these is performed as *tyaga*. They are known as *nyasi Udasina*. They are also organized into their *akhara* named : *Sri 108 pujyapada Advaita pancha parmesvara panchayati akhara Bada Udasina Nirvana*. Its head office is at Prayag. They follow the panchayati form of organisation. There is *Nirmal akhara* also which is similar to *Udasina*. The *Udasina akhara* is administered by the *Panchayati* or council of *sadhus* known as *pancha-parmesvara* constituting, 4 *Sri-mahantas*, 68 *Nirvanas and 24 Vastradharis*. In *Akhara* administration are involved one *pujari*, one *Bhandari*, one *Kothari*, one *Kotavala*, two

Karobari and four *Patels* with highest authority lying with *Sri mahantas*. The *Udasa* (*sadhus* of *Udasina sampradaya*) wear a *mudra* (ring) in the right ear and *bhasma* over body, "holy" wollen thread, *jata* and *janjira* (iron chain in the waist). The *nagas* of *Udasina akhara* were very friendly to us *and* were of great help during our *anvekshana*.

Attempts to Universal Organisation

Earlier we have mentioned the organisation of *Dasnami* sadhus under four *mathas* and ten *padas*. Within these ten *padas* and four *mathas*, *Sankracharya* attempted to organize the all *sadhus*. Sankracharya never attempted to create a *sampradaya* of *Dasnamis*, although divided into four *sampradayas*, i.e. *Kitwara, Bhogavara, Anandvara*, and *Bhurivara*, itself took the shape of *sampradaya* with *Advaita darsana, Saiva achara* and *Advaita sadhana*. It was from these *Dasnamis*, that new *sampradayas* took shape. *Madhvacharya*, the initiator or *Brahma sampradaya* was a *Tirtha* and followed *Vaishnava achara*. His *sannyasi* name was *Ananda Tirtha. Similarly, Swami Dayananda Saraswati* and *Ram Krishna Pramhansa (Sannyasa diksha by Tota Puri)* too can be seen out of *Dasnami* fold. They created their own *samaja*. Vivekananda thus is a *Puri* and *Ramkrishna Mission* belongs to *Puri Dasnami sampradaya*. For though *Chaitanya Mahaprabhu's Sampradaya* is regarded as a branch of *Madhva sampradaya* his *sannyasa-diksha* was through Isvara *Puri*. Even at Badrikashrama, where we stayed for a week, the *Vaishnava* dietics where worshipped. *Dasnamis*, had always a penchant for universal acceptance.[45] But inspite of the biggest attempt of its kind in history to bring within a single fold the entire traditions known at that time failed to be so, newer such attempts emerged creating separate *sampradayas, panthas, margas, samaja* or *sangha*.

Another such attempt was made by *Gorakhnatha*, which led to the creation of *Natha - sampradaya*. The *sadhus* of the *sampradaya* are known as *Nathas*. *Nathas* lay claim that one

of the *Nathas*, even converted Sankracharya within their fold. Such was the reach of the *Natha* or *Yoga - sampradaya* that within its tradition of *siddhas* is covered the *Jainas* as well as *Baudhas*. *Nanaka - pantha* derives their origin from the *siddha* tradition of *Natha - sampradaya*.

In the *parampara* of *Natha - sampradaya*, it is held that formerly there were eighteen *panthas* following *saiva achara* and twelve of *Gorakhnatha*. These two groups fought each, other and as a result twelve of the former and six of the latter were destroyed. The remaining twelve *panthas* of the two constitute the *parampara* of *Kanphatas* or *Gorakhnathis*. Those derived from former are (1) *Kantharnatha (2) Pagalnatha (3) Raval (4) Panikha (5) Ban* (6) *Gopal*, or *Ramke*. Those of latter are (1) *Hethanatha (2) Kolinatha* of *Ai-pantha* (3) *Chandnatha, Kaplani (4) Bairaga (5) Paonath - (6) Dhajjnatha (mahabira)* whose members are all foreigners (Briggs 1989 [1938] : 63).

What is important to note here, is the fact that *Natha-sam,pradaya* traces its origin from *Adinatha* or *Siva* who is supposed to have taught the *Yoga* to *Parvati and Matsyendra natha* (*Guru* of *Gorakhanatha*) overheard it, who in turn taught it to *Gorakhnatha*, to whose credit goes the above twelve fold panthic, organisation. This way all the *panthas* mentioned earlier belonging to *Saiva achara* and *Gorakhnatha* seperately are in fact belong to various traditions re-organized by *Gorakhnatha*, which may have turned out to be a violent exercise. What is unique that similar to that of *Sankracharya* this attempt of *Gorakhnath* was to reorganize almost all the traditions.

It is interesting to note here that most of the *marhis* as discussed earlier under organization of *akhara* are named after some '*natha*' like *Ridhnatha*, *Aparnatha*, etc. It is possible that at one time the *sadhus* of *naga akharas* belonged to the *natha sadhus*. The

Dasnamis and *Natha panthis* have similarities in achara. *The ishta deva* of *Juna akhara* and *Nathas* is *Bhairava* and they both worship *Dattatreya*. Both of them have the tradition of *siddha, kapalika, avadhuta* and *bhairivis*. Some of the *sadhus* belonging to *Juna akhara* wear ear-ring like the *nathas*. Not all *Nathas* are *Kanphata*. The *Nathas* can be seen to follow both *Saiva* and *Sakta achara*. They follow *Tantrika sadhana* in a varied form with emphasis on *Yoga sadhana* of *Hatha-Yoga*. It is not only the names of the *Dasnami marhis*, most of which have a *natha* epithet, but the *achara* (way of life) and *sadhana* bring *Dasnamis* and *Nathas* close to each other. Sinha and Saraswati inform that there are 64 m*arhis* among the *Saiva sannyasis* of which *Dasnamis* have 52 *marhis* and the *Nathapanthis* have 12, *Barahpanthi*, as they call themselves[19] (1976 : 93)

On the basis of *anumana* from the above discussion that the tradition of *Sankracharya* and *Gorakhanaha* attempted to universal organization of *sadhus* trying to incorporate each, other culminated in the *marhi* form of organisation which constituted the *Akharas* among *Dasnamis* and *Panthas* among *Nathas* (i.e. *Barahpanthis*). It can be seen otherway also as 64 *marhis* of the *Saiva sadhus* getting organised as mentioend earlier.

The attempt of *Chatu - sampradaya* was on the similar pattern and according to *Vaishnava achara mata*, their are only four *sampradayas*. Even though these attempts were made no such attempt, succeeded. The *Dasnamis* could not cover, even the entire *Saivas* or *Chatu-sampradayas* the entire *Vaishnavas*.[20] It is only in contemporary times that organizations like *Akhil Bhartiya Akhara Parishad, Bharat Sadhu Samaj* and *Dharma Sansad*

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[19] For *Natha sampradaya* refer Briggs, *Gorakhnath and Kanphata Yogis*. Divedi, Hazari prasad, *Natha sampradaya* (Hazariprasad Dvivedi Granthavali).

[20] The reach of *Nathas* is far larger than these two, but it also failed to reach the goal of universal organisation of *sadhus*. These attempts certainly led to efforts, which has produced extraordinary organisations.

which transcend the *achara sampradaya* and *mata* divisions to be representative of all *sadhus*. These organisations reflect collective force of sadhus. *Dharma Sangha* of *Swami Karpatri ji* led a massive agitation in the late sixties against cow-slaughter and the phenomenon of "*Hindutva* resurgence" in late eighties and early nineties was culmination of the use of this collective force of *sadhus* (Pushkar Misra 1994 :

Stages in the life of a *Sadhu*

We have attempted to explain the life of a *sadhu* in *matha* and *akhara* alongwith their orgnaistion earlier. We now attempt to explain the stages in the life of a *sadhu*. *Narad-parivrajko-upanishad*[21] mention six stages in the life of a *sadhu* :

1. *Kutichaka (asrama* dweller) - This being the earliest stage, the *Sadhu* as an initiate lives with and serves the *guru*. Etymologically *kutichka* is one who lives in *Kuti* (hut). *Kutichaka* does not travel.

2. *Bahudaka* (supported by many) is a stage in a *sadhu* life, where he continuously travels, not staying more than three days at any single place. The *sadhu* collects his *bhiksha* from many sources and serves other people to the best of his ability. A *bahudaka* because he drinks water of many places (*bahudaka*) in the course of his vow of wandering life.

3. *Hansa* (swan) - is a sadhu versed in *Sruti* and *Sastra* and pursues the aim of attaining *Brahmajnana*, living at one place and undergoing *sadhana*. He gives his advice to people as they come to him when required. Living on *bhiksha,hansa* is a "swan floating in the holy lake of *manas*, the seat of *Brahma*, hence is a *Brahmajnani* by the *yoga* (communion) of *jiva-atma* with *paramatma*). *Hansa* (Swan) "has the ability to separate the essence of things from the surface appearance, the reality from non-reality, the truth from false". Thus *Hansa* has realised the essence behind all.

4. *Paramahansa* (great swan) is a *sadhu* who has firmly established oneself in the *hansa* stage and is absorbed in one's *atma*. *Paramhansa* is free from all rules and regulations and is a highly respected *sadhu* residing in the highest state of *sadhana*, where the *sadhya* and *sadhana* become one. They give up their *danda*.

5. *Turiyatita* (beyond the fetters of nature) - is a *sadhu* engrossed completely in the inner *vairagya* merging consciousness within oneself and hardly aware of *loka*.

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[21] Vide, *Indrachandra Sastri,"Vaidika sahitya men sannyasa ki parampara'*, in *Nagri Pracharini Patrika*, Varanasi,p.11.

6. *Avadhuta* (one who has shaken of all *laukika* attachment and obligations) - is the stage of "complete liberation" where all the divinations are abolished in the vision of the *sadhu.*

During our *anvekshana*, we came across only *sadhus* of the first four stages.[22] It is these stages only which were known to many of the *sadhus.* The other two stages were seldom mentioned and seem to have merged in the *Paramhansa*, stage, which invariably was considered to be the highest stage. These four or six stages of *sadhu* begin only after he undergoes sannyasa *diksha.* But before undergoing sannyasa-diksha, he has to undertake *brahmacharaya and naishthika brahmacharaya-diksha.* This was even for those who in their *purva - asrama* were *grhasthas.* Ideally the stages of life and *asrama* are *brahmacharya, grhastha, vanaprastha* and *sannyas.* In this when any *brahmachari* reluctant to enter the grhastha asrama devotes his life to *sadhana* or learning engrossed in *vairagya* was given the *diksha* of *naisthika brahmacharya* which qualified him for *sannyasa diksha.* The other *brahmacharis* who went in for *grhastha asrama* and were called *upakurvanas* attained this state by undertaking *sadhu* life through *vanaprastha asrama.*

Our *anvekshana* revealed that the stage of *Vanaprastha asrama* is almost missing, atleast we did not come across any such example. And those who opt for the *sadhu* way of life are prepared for *sannyasa* by beginning from the very beginning i.e. by taking the *brahmacharya diksha.* We came across *brahmachari* of over even seventy five years of age.[23] In contemporary times even if a *grhastha* begins his *sadhu* life, the six stages of *sadhu* life

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[22] *Jabala-upanishad* mentions three types of *sannyasis* viz. 1) *Parivrata, Atura* and *Paramhansa. Atura-sannyasi* is one who opts for *sannyasa* only in speech and *manasa* (*chitta*). Among the *Dasnamis* we found that a different *sannyasa-paddhati*(the way of undertaking *sannyasa*) is followed for *atura sannyasis*, which is of short duration and deals only with essentials. *Asramopnishad* and *Bhikshuka-upanishad* follow the four fold divisons of *Kutichaka, Bahudaka, Hansa* and *Paramhansa.* Former mentions the rules regarding *Bhiksha*, e.g. *Kutichaka* is supposed to take *bhiksha* from his offsprings only , etc. It also mentions rules of residence to be followed while travelling. The latter also accepts almost similar rules. *Narada-parivrajoka-upanishad, Asramopnishad* and *Bhikshuka upanishad* have only minor differences over the rules and regulations followed by the four stages in the life of a *sadhu. Parivrata* of *Jabala-upanishad* is same as *Kutichaka* and *Bahudaka.*

[23] *Br.Up* (VI.1.6) mentions the stories of an old man Aruni becoming a *brahmachari. Jabala upanishad* recommends *sannyasa*, whenever the urge arrives.

are as followed, viz. (1) *Brahmachari, (2) Naishthika brahmachari* (these two are prior to *sannyasa diksha) (3) Kutichaka (4) Bahudaka (5) Hansa* and (6) *Paramhansa* (these are the stages after the *sannyasa diksha*). We came across mainly brahmachari, naishthika brahmachari and paramhansa stages.

Sannyasa and *Vairagya* : The Concept and Notion of *Sadhutva*

On our query that why one takes up sannyasa, the most of the answers, were that it is due to the *Karma* of the past which embodies one with *sannysa, w*hen possessed by the feeling of *Vairagya. Vairagya*, a state of mind, which is a stage of detachment, where the *karmas* of the world no more remain interesting for the individual. When an individual reaches this stages it is institutionalised through *praisha mantra sanskara* as *sannyasa.*[24] Literally *vairagya* means change or loss or colour. When there is cessation of all *karma*, then there is *vairagya.*

Vairagya in *Yoga sutra* (1.15) is the state of possesion of *chitta* of non-craving in the subjects seen or heard. Through the knowledge of *Purusha* (as in *sankhya*),the abscence of craving for *prakriti* and its *guna* is called *para-vairagya* (1.16).

Vidyaranya's Jivanmukativivekah deals with the conception and notion of *Vairagya* and *sannyasa*. The text is in five *prakaranas* (chapters). The first , deals with the *pramana* of

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[24] Some examples of *Vairagya* are given below, although experienced in indifferent contexts. Krishnamurty, *Commentaries on Living*, observes:
To give up in order to gain is no renunciation at all. To see the false as false, to see the true as true-it is this that sets the mind free...self deception exists when there is any form of craving or attachment: attachment to a prejudice, to an experience, to a system of thought. Consciously or unconsciously, the experiencer is always seeking greater, deeper, wider experience; and as long as experiencer exists, there must be delusion in one form or the other. (p.4 & p.8).
Keyserling in *A Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, observes:
Today no fact as such troubles me anymore, I am not fond of reading, I hardly need my fellowmen, and I am leading more and more towards the life of a hermit, in which shape I can doubtless fulfill my destiny... the impulse which drives me into the wide world is precisely the same as that which drives so many into monastries: the desire for self-realisation. (p.13 & p.14).

jivanmukti i.e. moksha, the second *prakarana* deals with *vasanachhaya* (the loss of cravings), the third *prakarana* deals with *manonasha* (the destruction of *mana* i.e. *chitta* and its *vrittis*) the fourth *prakarana* deals with *svaroopsidhiprayojana* i.e. the reasons for knowing the true self, where *Vidyaranya* quotes from *Sukadeva, Janaka, Vasishthas Rama* and *Gita*, to justify it and finally in the fifth *prakarana* explains *Vidvatsannyasa*. The text is based on *paramahansa upanishadas, Vidvat sannyasa* can be referred as *Jnana sannyasa* (to be explained later).

The stage of *Vairagya* is mentioned as *jivan-mukta* in *Yoga-vasishtha. Muktika upanishad*, which seems to have drawn its inspiration from the *Yoga-vasistha*, mentions the word *jivan-mukta*, meaning those *sadhus*, who live till their "fruit-yielding actions" i.e. *prarbdha karma* are exhausted (Dasgupta 1975 [1922 : 246-247). When the *prarabdha karma* is exhausted the stage of *vairagya* arrives culminating through *adrshta. Adrshta* is "unperceived law" (Chatterjee and Datta 1984 : 61) which may or may not be regulated by the *prarabhda karma*, which actually means the deeds done by an individual in its previous births.

The *Pravachana-bhashya* on *Sankhya sutra* raises the threefold conception of *viveka* (the discriminating faculty of an individual) which determines its actions on the basis of good and bad), viz. (1) *manda-viveka* (feeble one), (2) *madhya-viveka* (middle one), and (3) *viveka - nishpatti (viveka* - transcended). In the first stage individual has not attained the desired discriminatory" capacity of the difference between *prakrti* and *purusha*, but is endeavoring to attain it, the second stage is the state *of jivan - mukta*, i.e. where the desired discriminatory capacity has been attained but still the subject - object distinction remains alongwith the consciousness of the *viveka*. The last stage is called the *asamprajnata* state, where, there is

no subject - object distinction therefore there cannot be in this stage be any "reflection of pleasure or sorrow" (due to the fructifying of *karma* i.e. prarabdha) (Dasgupta 1975 [1922) : 250). *Yoga-vasishta* says that d*aiva (prarabhda*, i.e. k*armas* of the previous birth) and *purushastha* (the individual will) decide the course of action of an individual. It says that in order to attain the state of *vairagya*, the d*aiva* (if hindrance) can be annulled by *purushartha.*

During our *anvekshana*, we found on the basis of the *karma siddhanta* it is believed by majority of *sadhus* that the culmination of *vairagya* and its subsequent *sannyasa* is due to the role of *prarabhda*. This *prarabhda* can be read through planetary charts on the basis of *Jyotisha* (one of the *vedangas*). Hence it is possible to determine whether an individual is made for *sannyasa* or not. This plays a crucial role in deciding the persons who ought to be the *acharyas* of ancient and larger *mathas*. We tried to study the planetary charts. The entire process is determined by the time of birth and the position of various planets and rasis (cosmological bodies) at that time. There combined effect is said to determine the course of the individual life.It is not so that everyone who has a favourable chart for *sannyasa* will be given *diksha.*

Generally speaking there are three kinds of *karmas* viz., *Nitya, Kamya* and *Nishiddha Nitya - naimittika karmas* are the one which are to be performed on regular basis e.g. cleaning oneself, *sandhya.* ("worshiping"), other performed at regular intervals during festivals, etc. The daily *Yajna* falls under this i.e. *agnihotra. Kamya karmas* are those which are performed to attain some particular thing, e.g. kingdom, prosperity, offsprings, etc. *Nishidha* k*armas* are those which are prohibited from performing, e.g. violence, theft, non-truthfulness, etc. (Shastri 1965 : 8).

There is another classification of *karmas*, viz. (1) *Srauta and (2) Smarta. Srauta* k*armas* are those which are performed on the basis of Sruti and *Smarta karmas* are on the basis of *smrtis*.[25] These two pertain to the performance of *yajna* and *agnihotra* (daily abultation to the holy fire) and can be taken as nitya - *naimittika karmas. Karmas* can be also taken as *pravrtti* karma and *Nivrtti karma*.[26] *Pravrtti karma* can be the kamya *karma*, whereas *Nivrtti karma* is performed to attain the state of *Nivrtti* that is *Mukti* or *Moksha*, cessation of all cravings.

Karma which simply means action has a broader meaning which includes moral, physical and mental activities. *Karma* is used in various contexts to mean action, deeds, destiny, causality, effects, products, result, etc. It is rooted in the idea of *rta* which is the foundation of *dharma*. The different contexts of *karma* are *niyati* or *prarabdha* the (*karmas* of previous birth determining the future course of individual's life), *nitya-naimittika, kamya, nishidha*, etc.

Sannyasa is defined in *Srimadbhagvadgita* (18.2) as giving up of k*amya karma. Sannyasopanishad* calls it the giving up of fire (in the sense of *agnihotra) Sannyasa* is institutionalisation of *vairagya*, through *presha-mantra -sanskara* also known as *virya homa* or *Virja homa sanskara*. The world *sannyasa* is derived from *sam +ni +as*, to place or put down, deposit, give up, abandon or quit : *Kamyanam karmanam nyasam sannyasam* (*Gita* : 18.2) It also means *sam* + *nyasa, sam* - perfect; *nyasa*-setting aside, abandoning, surrender.

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[25] This has been explained while explaining *dharma* in the previous chapter.
[26] ibid.

shaved. In this whole process the *sadhu* has to continuously mutter *savitri mantra*. The *sadhu* undertaking sannyasa is said he have five *acharyas*--1) saffron robe, 2) shaven head, 3) *vibhuti* (holy ashes), 4) *Rudraksha* rosary and 5) *mantra*. The *sanskara* is completed by minimum of four *sannyasis*. First is the *guru*, who in the ears utters the *mantra*, second gives him name out of seven, third besmears his body with *vibhuti* and fourth breaks his *Janaiu* (sacred thread). During the *diskha* the *sadhu* has to move seven steps naked.

After initiation in *sannyasa* or *sannyasa diksha* new name is given to the person concerned. The best time and place for *diksha* is at *kumbha-mela*. For *nagas*, this the only occassion with a few exceptions. Before the actual *diksha*, all the *sanskaras* (*karmakanda* i.e. ritual) have to be undertaken. These *sanskaras* are performed by the *purohit* (priest) of the *akhara*, who is not a *sadhu*. The main *sanskara* performed is that of self *sradha*. *Sradha* is a *sanskara* performed by one's own progeny, after one's death, so that the person can attain *mukti* or *moksha*, the release from *karma*, i.e. from getting born again. The *Sradha* is performed by the person himself before the *sannyasa diksha* via the *purohit* of *akhara*. It is performed partly inside the river. After *Sradha sanskara* is performed, the person takes bath and goes to the *guru* for *sannyasa diksha* naked signifying that he has left everything behind including his body and is prepared for the *praisha mantra sanskara*. The *guru* gives him new clothes (ochre coloured in case of *Dasnamis* and white or yellow in case of *Vaishnavas*) and *danda* (where relevant) alongwith *kamandala* and *mala* (rosary). He also gives him the *mantra* of *sannsaya*, i.e. *praisha-mantra*. Here the *sadhu* looses the *adhikara* (qualification) for *gayatri-mantra* and his *mantra* becomes the *praisha mantra*. Among the *Dasnamis* the

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discarding of *shikha* (tuft of hair on head) *and sutra* (sacred thread also called *janaiu* are to be given up to be a *sannyasi*. This is not so in case of *Chatuh-sampradayas* and other *sampradayas* of *vaishnava achara*.[29]

Various forms of *Sannyasa*

In *Narad-parivarajaka-upanishad Brahma* enunciates four forms of *sannyasa*. Brahma says :

> Actually there is only one form of *sannyasa*. But due to *ajnana* (false knowledge), *asakti* (loss of will) and *Karmalopa* (loss of karma, in this context *yajna karma*), sannyasa took four forms successively - *Vairagya-sannyasa Jnana-sannyasa, Jnana-vairgya-sannyasa* and *Karma sannyasa.* The individual free from all cravings due to *karmas* previously performed when undertakes *sannyasa*, it is called *vairagya sannyasa*. The individual with *sadhana-chatushtaya* realising the momentariness and the non-permanent character of the world leaves the comforts of the world, when undertakes *sannyasa*, it is called *Jnana sannyasa*. The individual after observing willfully all the *asramas* (*bramacharya, grhastha* and *vanprastha* i.e. *asramas* prior to *sannyasa* undertakes *sannyasa*, then it is called *Jnana vairagya sannyasa*. Due to *jnana* and *vairagya* the cravings are lost. The individual who observes asramas and without having *vairagya*, when undertakes *sannyasa*, it is *karma sannyasa*.[30]

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[29] Swami Chandrasekharendra Saraswati observes in *Guru* Tradition quoting from *Sruti* and *Sastric paksha* : *Vyasa* composed the *Brahmasutra* and *Shankaracharya* wrote a commentary on it. Vachaspati Misra wrote an explanatory commentary on this commentary--he called *Bhamti* after his wife. As a commentary on the commentary called *Bhamti*, *Amlananda* wrote the *Kalpataru*. Now *Abhoga* is commentary by *Lakshminrsinha* on the *Kalpataru*.
The reference was in the explanation of the 24th *sutra* fourth *pada*, third chapter of *Brahmasutra*. It is the passage in which the *sutrakara* or author, *vyasa*, expresses the opinion that there is such a thing as *sannyasasram. Jamini* in his *Purvamimamsa* contends that man attains *Moksha* directly by performing *Vedic Karma* as a *grhastha* or householder and that there should be no *sannyasa* in which *vedic karma* is exchewed. *Vyasaa* rebuts this view and establishes that there is a *turiya* or fourth *asram* (that is *Sannyasa*).
The qualification of a *sannyasin* are given by *Amlananda* in his *Kalpataru*. The *sannyasin* must remove his *sikha* (tuff of hair) and must have a shaven head. He must also cut of his sacred thread. Such is the custom among followers of *Ramanuja sidhanta* (*Visistadvaita*). The author of the *Kalpataru* gives opinion which is the right view:
"Ye tu sikha-yajnopavita-tyaga-rupa-paramchamisya na manyante te na na pasanti pratyaksa ghatikasthaneshu pathyamana Atharvanim srutim-sasikham vapanam krtva bahis-sutram tyajet budhah"
(They say that the man who goes to the highest level among *sannyasins*, the *parmahamsa* state, need not shave his head and cut of his sacred thread. Those who speak thus do not seem to have heard the words of the *Atharvaveda* spoken by those who study the *Vedas* in *ghatikasthana*: "The wise man who takes to *sannyasa* must remove his *sikha* and discard his sacred thread").(p.15).

[30] Vide Indrachandra Shastri, "*Vaidika sahitya men sannyasa ki parampara*," *Nagri Pracharini Patrika, Nagri pracharini sabha*, Varanasi, p.13.

Vairagya-sannyasa generally is undertaken from the *brahmacharya* stage. Conceptually speaking, when an individual due to the experience of profound *vairagya* looses all interest and craving due to the fructification of all *karmas* is given *sannyasa diksha* by a guru, it is *vairagya-sannyasa. Jnana-sannyasa* dawns upon and individual due to realisation culminating through *jnana* generated by *viveka. Karma sannyasa* is undertaken to attain *janana. Karma sannyasa* has two forms *nimitta sannyasa* and *animitta sannyasa.*[31] The former is undertaken due to special events in the individuals life and the latter is undertaken due to natural inclination. Another *jatification* calls *nimittta-sannyasa* as *atura-sannyasa and animitta sannyasa as karma-sannyasa,* hence enumerating *variagya-sannyasa jnana sannyasa, atur sannyasa* and *Karma sannyasa. Atur sannyasa* is undertaken during (i.e. just before death) or when an individual due to physical infirmity or disease is unable to perform *karma. Animitta-sannyasa* means that an individual undertakes *sannyasa* by the realisation that all objects are impermanent and gets detached by them with faith in *atma.*[32]

The above *sastric pakshsa* enumerates four forms of sannyasa i.e. *Vairagya, Janana-vairagya, Jnana, Karma (nimitta [atura])* and *animitta*). In our *anvekshana*, we encountered all the forms off *sannyasa* mentioned in the *sastric paksha. Sadhus* undertaking *animitta* or *karma sannyasa* were maximum and those undertaking *Jnana- vairagya sannyasa* were least. Apart from the above mentioned form of *sannyasa* as mentioned in sastric *paksha,* we came across several other forms of *sannyasa* during our *anvekshana.*

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[31] There is mention of *Vividisha sannyasa*, which is a stage and not form of *sannyasa* similar to *karma sannyasa.* At certain stage in course of *jnana sadhana*, the retirement from active life is prescribed and recommended for *sadhana.* This is known as the stage of *vividisha sannyasa* . When the *sadhaka* has reached the stage of *dhyana* and *niddhyasana* i.e. when he finds that meditation has become sponteneous. Abstension from all *karma*, except *dhyana* and *Vichara* is *Vividisha sannyasa. Brahma.* p. 91 p. 104, p. 105.

[32] Vide Shastri, p. 13.

The first form of *sannyasa* was of *sadhus* who undertook *sannyasa* for social service. *Bharat Sevashrama Sangha, Ramkrishna Mission, Divine Life Society*, and numerous others are working for social welfare. Even *sadhus* from *Dasnami and Chatu sampradaya* are taking up social service. *Sampradayi* sadhus generally refrained from such activities as it was considered not to be true to the spirit of *sannyasa*, but now the trend in this direction is increasing.

Second type of *sadhus* which encountered apart from the above mentioned ones in considerable numbers were those undertaking *sannyasa* due to extra ordinary events in their life e.g. death of someone very close and dear, financial loss, loss of prestige or status, etc.

The third kind if sadhus which we encountered undertook sannyasa, just to get free boarding and lodging and a comfortable life without much labour attracted by the respect commanded by *sadhus*.

Fourth, were *sadhus* who undertook *sannyasa* to get an easy earning by displaying fake *siddhis* by befooling people.

A few *sadhus* of the fifth kind we come across undertook *sannyasa* to escape criminal charges against them to avoid subsequent arrest.

We were informed by local intelligence unit at Rishikesh that there were some secret agents of foreign intelligence agencies doing the job of spying in the garb of *sadhus*. *Kautilya* in his *Artha sastra* mentions the use of *sadhus* for the purpose of spying. This was the sixth kind of *sadhu* undertaking *sannyasa*.

At the *Purna kumbha-mela* Haridwara, 1998, we approached some learned *sadhus* and requested them to explain the category of *sadhus* who do not fall within the categories of *sastric paksha*. What form of *sannyasa* is their's. To this some of the forms were explained to us as *virakta, vimukha* and *chhadma sannyasa*. The other forms were categorised by us as *loka-sangraha, pravartana* and *manishika sannyasa*.

On the basis of our *anvekshana* we enumerate the following forms of *sannyasa*[33] other than the *sastric paksha*.

Virakta saninyasa - the sannyasa undertaken by an individual due to loss of interest in life and world because of some special event in life e.g. death of someone close and dear, financial loss, loss of prestige or status, etc. *Virakta* means loss of interest, *Virakti* i.e. loss of interest in life and world is cause of this *sannyasa. Virakti*, subsequently can lead to *Jnana* sannyasa as well. As *virakti* due to personal loss may culminate into the realisation of the impermanent nature of the world and its objects.

Loka-sangraha sannyasa - the sannyasa undertaken for the welfare of people. Gita (3.25) (*saktah karmanyavidvanso yatha kurvanti Bharata, Kuryadvidvanstathasaktaschikirshur lokasangraham* mentions the concept of *loksangraha* i.e. welfare of the people. Hence *loka-sangraha sannyasa* is undertaken by an individual for *loka-sangraha*.

Sadhu organisation are actively engaged in different social services. Divine life

society, Rishikesh; Ram Krishna Mission, Calcutta; Bharat Sevashram Sangh,Varanasi; Radhasvami Sangh, Agra, Anand Moyee Ma Sangh; Swami Narayan, Gujarat; Vedantic School of Swami Chinmayananda, etc. are some.

From running orphanages, old age homes, hospitals to rural upliftment, reformation of holy places, publishing literature, education to masses and building pilgrimage shelters are the prominent areas covered by them.

Pravartana Sannyasa - *Sannyasa* undertaken to propagate one's own *sampradaya, pantha, mata, achara*, etc. The *Akharas* played crucial role in fighting the foreign invasion and rule. Its requirement arrives from the necessity of *kshatra dharma* and *rajdharma*. This necessisty was at the root of the creation and organisation of *Akharas*, which undertook as much inter-*sampradaya* battles if not more than those against the foreign invasion and rule specially *Dasnamis* and *Chatu-sampradaya khalsas*. The *diksha* for this specific purpose comes under *pravartana sannyas*.

It is important to note that a *vairagya-sannyasta sadhu* may also do the work of *pravartana sannyasta sadhu*. Difference lies in the specific reasons for undertaking *sannyasa* at the tine of *sannyasa-diksha sannyasa* undertaken with specific purpose to learn, preserve and spread one's *mata* is *pravartana. Sannyasa. Christian* monasticism fall under this kind of *sannyasa*.

Manishika Sannyasa - the *sannyasa* undertaken to change the existing social order and/or to activate a new social order according one's mata. The *sadhus* of *Ananda Marga* fall under this category.

Vimukha sannyasa - the *sannyasa* undertaken to lead a comfortable life without labour. *Vimukha* means turning around. Here it means turning around *sannyasa*, just opposite of what it actually stands for. It is considered to be *akrtabhagyam dosha* i.e. enjoying fruits without performing action.

Chhadma Sannyasa - the *sannyasa* undertaken to deceive. *Chhadma* means deceit. This *sannyasa* is undertaken just to know the rudiments of *sadhu* life, for deceit, so that one can, befool others, e.g. thugs or one can hide e.g. criminials or one can take the garb to spy, etc.

Chapter VI

Laukyaisation
Sanskara and *Sanskarization*

In the previous chapter, we had classified *sannyasa* as *vairagya, jnana vairagya, jnana, karma, vimukha* and *chhadma*. This decrease in the intensity of *vairagya* from *vairagya sannyasa* to *karma sansayasa* (where only desire for *sannyasa* is present) and then further non absence of desire for *vairagya* and disguise of *vairagya* in *vimuukha sannyasa* and *chhadma saninyasa* respectively is the process of *laukyaisation* of *sannyasa* among the contemporary *sadhus. Laukyaisation* is a process where *achara* becomes more and more *laukya.*

Litrally, *laukya* means "wordly", "terrestrial", "belonging to or occurring in day to day life", "common", "usual", "customary", temporal, "not sacred", worldliness" "commonness", "belonging to the world", "mundane", etc. *Laukya* and *laukika* are used synonymously. Laukyaisation is a movement towards *laukya* or *laukika*, i.e. worldliness (explained as *sansarikta*, by some of the *sadhus* during *anvekshana).* Kumarila mentions that M*imansa sastra* due to the influences of the theories of *Bhartrmatra* and other *acharyas* (authorities on subject) became *lokyatikrata* (Kaviraj 1984:42-43) i.e. influenced by *lokayata mata. Lokayat mata* also known as *Charvaka darsana* has "materialist approach". This process of *lokayatikrta* of *Mimansa sastra* mentioned by Kumarila is in fact the process of *laukyaisation.*

Loka-sangraha signifies the welfare of the people (*Gita* 3.25). *Dharmasastras* provide three fold *anusasanas* (disciplines) of *loka-sangrahaka dharma* as explained earlier,viz. *achara, vyavahara* and *naimittika.* Within *achara*, the most significant aspect is *sanskara.*

There is another division of *vaidika* and *laukika*[1]. Sankaracharya in *Sariraka-bhashya (Brahma sutra* 2.1.14) recognizes the *laukika vaidika* delineation. He considers the existence of two *vyavaharas* viz. *laukika* and *vaidika*. The *laukika vyavahara* is *loka-vyavahara. Loka* denotes World in the *Rg-Veda* (x.14.9). The increase in the influence of *loka vyavahara* on *achara* is L*kyaisation.*

Bhartrprapancha accepts *laukika* as well as *vaidika pramanas* to be valid (Kaviraj 1984:142). There is a text named *laukika-nyaya muktavali by* Prasastman, *a Advaita vedanti.* The *pramanyavada* accepts the existence of three realities, viz. *Parmarthika*, Pratibhashika and *Vyavaharika. Kamasutra* (1.2.7-15) accepted two divisions of *alaukikatvavada* and *Laukikatvavada*[2]. The *Kasika* states that *Mimansa* is based on the assumption of the existence of external objects (*sarvo te ayam mimansa prapancho te bahyarthasrya eva*). It is thus opposed to the *Advaita vedanta* stand of relegating the performances of *yajna* to *vyavahara* and therefore does not favour the levels of reality i.e. *paramarthika* and *vyavaharika.* Whereever there is mention of *loka* and *veda* together, then generally *veda* confines to *sastric paksha.*[3]

At the beginning of the second chapter of this *prasthana* about the manifestation of the *Vak* into four forms of which the last being referred as *laukika bhasha* or *vyavahariki bhasha.* We further referred to the progressive unfolding of the *Sabda Brahma* in gradual stages as *ekapadi, dvipadi, chatushpadi, ashtapadi* and *navapadi* and ultimately pervading

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[1] *Tatraikatvenansena jnananmokshavyvaharah setyasti, nantvansena the karmakandasrasau laukika vaidika vyavaharou setrsyat iti.*

[2] Vide, Kane, *Hist. Dh.Sa.* Vol.II, pt.I, p.9.

[3] Ramdas Gaud, *Hindutva, p.21.*

the universe as *saharakshara*. Only a part of this *Vak* is captured by man for his use as laukiki or *vyavahariki bhasa*. The four forms of *vaka* were explained as *para, pasyanti, madhyma* and *vaikhari*. Para is the inexplicable indestructive essence pervading the being and the universe. *Pasyanti* is the vision of that inexplicable and indestructible essence, *madhyama* is the structation of the vision and the desire to speak and *vaikhari* is the utterance of that structuration. *Laukiki* or *vyavahariki bhasha* manifests through *vaikhari*. This whole process of the manifestation of language is the process of *laukyaisation*.

The another process explained in the same chapter is also the example of the process of *laukyaisation*. As per *Vakapadiya* (1.86) *Sabda Brahma* is *dhvani* not ordinary words or language. *Sanhitas* (collection of *mantras*) of the *veda* are not a *bhasha*, they are the utterances, without undergoing the process of *laukyaisation*, uttered as seen. The *mantras* in a way are sound systems pervading the universe manifesting in those endowed with *tapas* viz. *rishi* who are also referred as mantra *drshtas*, the *seers* of *mantra*. *Tapas* brings them on same wavelength and endows them with the capacity of direct cognition, unmediated. The *rshis* who were the direct seers of *mantras* were followed by those who were incapable (*avara*) of direct cognition, coming from *tapas*. The *rshi* therefore had to impart mantras by means of *Sruti* i.e. oration to them. Those who became *rshi* through *Sruti* imparted to them as *sishyas* by their *gurus* are *srutarshis*. This process of *sruti* itself is a process of *laukyaisation*.

Varnekar distinguishes between *vaidika* and *laukika bhasha*[4]. He gives six differences being created between the two:

[4] Varnekar, pp.2-3.

1. Many *vaidika* words had changed in their meaning in *laukika* sanskrit.
2. Some suffixes, roots and pronouns became different in *laukika* and *vaidika*.
3. Some prefixes which followed verbs in *vaidika* Sanskrit, preceded in *laukika* Sanskrit.
4. *Vaidika* Sanskrit is musical due to accents which are lost in *laukika* Sanskrit.
5. There was difference between subject and verb in *vaidika* Sanskrit which became one in *laukika*. Same is true for adjective and a noun with an adjective qualifying it (*viseshya*).
6. In *vaidika* Sanskrit their are only *varnika chhanda (chhandas* of letters) whereas in *laukika*, they are of both *varnika* (letters)and *matrika* (vowels).

Varnekar used these examples of the shift in the nature of language from *vaidika* to *laukika* as the reasons for the change in both (dialect) in different places in the *suktas* of *vaidika sanihitas*.[5] We call this process of shift in *vaidika* and *laukika* Sanskrit, as a process of *laukyaisation*.

The process of *laukyaisation* among *brahmanas* can be seen in the *jatification* of *Brahmanas* provided by *Atri* (373-383)[6]:

> *Deva brahman* (who daily performs both, *sandhya, japa, homa*, worship of gods and knowing of and *vaisvadeva), muni brahman* (who is given upto staying in a forest subsists on roots, fruits and vegetables and performs daily *sradhas), dvija brahman* (who studies the *Vedanta*, gives up all attachments and is engaged in reflecting over *Sankhya* and *Yoga), kshatra brahman* (who fights), *vaisya brahman* (who engages in agriculture, rearing cattle and trade, *sudra brahman* (who sells *lac*, salt, dyes like *kusumbha*, milk, *ghee*, honey, meat), *nishada brahman* (who is thief and robber, a backbiter and always fond of fish and meat), *pashu-brahman* (who knows nothing about *brahma* and is only proud of his wearing the sacred thread), *mlechha brahman* (who obstructs or destroys wells, tanks, gardens without an qualm) and *chandala* brahman (who is fool, devoid of prescribed rites, beyond the pale of all *dharma* and cruel).
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> Atri (384): *vedairvihinas cha padanti sastram sastrena hinascha*

[5] Ibid.

[6] Kane, *Hist. ofDh.Sa.* Vol.*II, pt. I, p.131.*

puranapathah, pura-nabiah, krishno bhavanti bhrashtastato bhagvata bhavanti: those who are devoid of *Veda*, study the *sastra* those devoid of *sastra* study *puranas* (and earn money by reciting them), those who are devoid even of *puranas* become agriculturalists, those who are devoid even of that become *bhagavatas* (posing as great devotees).

All this is the process of *laukyaisation*.

Another example of the *laukyaisation* of *Brahmanas* is provided by *Satapa*, as quoted by Aparaka. He mentioned six classes of persons, though born *brahmanss*, are really not *brahmans* viz. one who has taken service with a king, one who engages in sale and purchase (of commodities), one who officiates for many *yajmanas*, one who is officiating priest for whole village, one who is in service of a village or town, one who does not perform *sandhya* adoration in the morning and evening at the proper time. The *Anusasanaparva* (33.11.99) shows that some *brahmanas* were great rogues (others engaged in *tapas*) some resorted to agriculture and rearing cattle, others subsisted by begging, some were thieves and others were false some were acrobats and dancers (ibid, p.132). All these illustrates the *laukyaisation* of some *brahmanas* even in early ancient period.

Sanskara

Utakarsha sadhanam sanskarah (Panini 6.1.137) i.e. *sankaras* are the means of progress. *Kaushitiki* (2.6), *Chhandogya* (4.16.2,3,4) and *Brhadarnyaka* (6.3.1) *Upanishads* use the term in the sense of (*sanskaroti*) i.e. prepraring for the specific purpose.

Etymoligically *sanskara* signifies, "putting together", "forming well", "making perfect, "accomplishment" "embellishment", "purification", "cleaning", "preparation", "dressing", "refining", "polishing", etc. *Sabara-bhashya* on *Jaimini's Mimansa-sutra* III.1.3

explains *sanskara* as that which being effected makes a certain person fit for certain purpose.[7]

Brahmana and *Sutra* texts use *sanskara* word for purifying the jnana *yajna*. *Baudha Tripitakas* use it in the sense of construction, ornamentation, conjunction, nature, action and *skandha* (trunk). *Baudha* consider *sanskaras* as one of the twelve chains of *bhava chakra*.[8] The *darsanas* generally use it in the sense of the impressions of experiences. It is held that these impressions on getting suitable atmosphere repeat themselves. The *sanskara* becomes synonymous to *vasana* (craving). *Advaita Vedanta* considers it as an illusory veil on *atma*. *Vaiseshika* considers it to be one of the fourteen *gunas*.

In Sanskrit literature the word has been used in very wide meanings: *nisargasanskaravinita ityasau nrpena chakre yuvarajasabdabhak (Raguvansha* 3.35) i.e. in the sense of proper education, shine, decoration, ornamentation (*svabhavasundaram vastu va sanskarapekshate (Sakuntala* 7.23); impression, shape, moulding pattern, impact, memory *(sanskarajanyam jnanam smrtih [Tarkasangraha]*): "purificatory rites", idea, virtue, etc.

There are mainly three aspects of *sankaras* viz. 1) *utkarsha*; 2) *sannikarsha* and 3) *abhushana*[9]. The first aspect deals with the role of *sanskaras* the second genesis and process of *sanskara* and third with refinement and ornamentation generally in the literary sense.

Utakarsha

Utakarsha aspect of *sanskara* is generally explained through *karmakanda sanskaras* (commonly sixteen *sanskaras* performed at various stages of individual life) culminating in

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[7] Vide Bhattacharya, *p.141.*

[8] *Avidya, sanskara, vijnana, nama-rupa, shadayatana, sparsa, vedna, trshna, upadana, bhava, jati and jara marana are the twelve chains of bhava chakra.*

[9] *We have based our understanding of sanskara through the three derivations of* meaning by *Panini (6.1.137)* of the word *sanskara.*

the beginning of the new stage in life marking progress. *Dharmasutras* consider those *karmas* which are performed from time to time for the progress of individual as *sankaras. Sanskaras* are considered to be important in this context as they help in building individual personality.[10]

As we have already mentioned that *Sabara* defines *sanskara* as act which being affected makes a certain thing or person fit for specific purpose. In the *Tanttravartika* also observance of *sanskara* has been described as offering fitness (*yogyatamadhan sanskara ituchyante). Sankara* on the *Vedanta sutra* (1.1.4) has classified *sanskaras* under two heads: those which remove taints (*dosha*) and those that generate fresh qualities (*sanskaro nama gunadhanena va syat dospanayanena va). Sankara* implies here that *sanskaras* have the potentiality of removing past taints incurred or inherited and generating such qualities which lead to seek development and perfection.[11] *Tantravartika* holds almost the similar view.

From the above explanations it is clear that *sanskaras* prepare an individual for specific purpose by removing impediments (*dosha*) and generating qualities towards progress acting as means for *utkarsha*[12].

Sannikarsha

Sanskaras in the sense of *sannikarsha* means the process through which "impressions" are left over the *chitta*. This operationalisation and generation of *sanskaras* takes place through *pramanas* in general and *smrti*[13] and *savikalpa pratyaksha* in particular.

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[10] *Social institutions, beliefs, sentiments, arts, sciences, etc., were all closely interwoven. The sanskaras covered all there fields of life...The aim of the sanskaras was to create conditions for the development of an integerated personality of an individual, who can adjust himself with the world around him believed to be full of human and superheman forces (Pandey 1969:276).*

[11] *Heramba Chatterjee Sastri, p.9.*

[12] *Charaka sanhita* in its list of *gunas* includes *sanskara* which is translated as inertia by Dasgupta. The *gunas* enumerated are *para, apara, yukti, sankhya, sanyoga, vibhaga, prathabtva, parimana, sanskara* and *abhyasa.*

[13] In *smrti* is *sankaras* of the previous birth on the basis of *karma sidhanta* referred *as Prarrabdha.*

Vallabha, opines a strong relationship between memory and *sanskara*. He states that the indeterminate knowledge arises at that state in which the *buddhi (chitta)* functions at the first moment of sense operation; and it becomes determinate when in association with sense faculty, there is modification in *chitta* as *vrtti*. Though with the rise of *vritti* a previous one disappears, it still persists in the form of *sanskara*, when these *sanskaras* are later raised by specific causes or conditions, we have *smrti*[14] As per Vallabha knowledge stays on until it is superseded by other objects of knowledge, and even then it stays as *sanskara*. This is proved by the fact that *chitta* can discover it as *smrti* when it directs its attention towards it.[15]

The distinction between *sanskara* and *smrti* can be understood in the context of the understanding of *savaikalpa pratyaksha*. In the *savikalpa pratyaksha* the internal *sanskaras* are aroused in association with the visual and other senses, and they co-operate with the *samagri* provided by the sense organs in producing the inner act of analysis and synthesis, assimilation and differentiation and mutual comparison of similar concepts, as involved in the process of *savikalpa pratyaksha. (smrtav iva savikalpake sanskarsya na svatantreyana karnatvam yena pratykshatvam na syat kintu indriyasahakaritaya tatha indriya jnanyatvena pratyaksham eva savikalpakam--Nyaya Sara)*[16].

What distinguishe it from memory is the fact that *smrti* is produced only by the rousing of the subconscious *sanskaras* on *chitta*, whereas *savikalpa pratyaksha* is produced by the subconscious *sanskaras* working in association with the sense organs (*sannikarsha*).[17]

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[14] ibid, *Vol.IV,p.343.*

[15] ibid, *pp.336-337.*

[16] vide Dasgupta, Vol.III, pp.*222-223.*

[17] ibid. *Vol.III,* pp.*222-223,* vide *Nyaya-sara.*

Chitta and *Sanskaras*

The ascertainment of what *sanskara* is, raises several questions. From the *advaita* point of view, illusions are supposed to happen through the operation of *sanskaras*, but in the beginningless cosmic illusion the *sanskaras* must also be beginningless and co-existent with the basis (*adhisthana*) and therefore real. The *sanskaras* must exist prior to illusion and as such they cannot be themselves illusory, they must be real. Again the *sanskara* cannot belong to *Brahma*, for then it could not be qualityless and pure; they cannot belong to *atma*, for these are produced as a result of illusory impositions which are again products of the operation of *sanskaras*.[18] Pure consciousness (*Brahma chaitanya*) cannot destroy the root *sanskara*; for it is only the mental state (*vrtti*) which can destroy the mental root *sanskara*, and if *avidya* is beginningless *sanskara*, it cannot be removed by knowledge as pure consciousness and thus the assumption of it being beginningless does not serve any useful purpose.[19]

Bhaskara draws a distinction between cognition (*jnana*) and consciousness (*chaitanya*), more particularly *atma-chaitanya*. Cognition with him means the knowledge of objective things,and this is direct experience (*anubhava*) arising out of the contact of the sense organ, *chitta*[20] and the object, the presence of the light and the internal action of memory and the *sanskaras* (such conscious impressions).[21] Sanskaras can be said to be impressions left over *chitta*.

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[18] ibid, *p.423.*

[19] ibid.*p.373.*

[20] Bhaskara uses the term *manas.*

[21] ibid. *p.8.*

Sanskarization

The process of an individual passing through the four *asramas* i.e. *brahmacharya, grahastha, vanaprastha* and *sannyasa* is the process of *sanskarization*. The individual undergoing *sanskaras* (commonly sixteen *karmakandi sanskaras* i.e. ritualistic) at various stages of life is *sankarization*. The life of a *sadhu* through *kutichaka, bahudaka, hansa, paramanansa*, is a process of *sanskarization*. Coming of *vairagya* is often due to the process of *sanskarizatiion*. *Sadhana* also is a process of *sanskarization*.

Rg-Sanhita VII.103.1 refers a period of *tapas* in silence during which *brahmanas* burst out in speech (*vachanam avadishuh*) like frogs quickened by the activity of the clouds (*parjanya*) after a years slumber. *Yaska* in *Nirukta*, IX.6 states: *abruvanah brahamana vratacharnih* i.e. maintaining the vow of silence for the task of expounding *mantras*[22]. This process of *tapas* culminating in the vision of *mantras* is the process of *sankarization*.

Tapas endows one with the capacity to envision *mantra*. As mentioned earlier *mantras* are the sound system, they are *Sabda Brahma*, which is *dhvani* not ordinary words (*Vakapadiya* 1.86) and *Vedic sanhitas* are collection of those *mantras*. *Tapas* brings an individual to the state where one can comprehend this *dhvani*, (cf. nada in *tantra* and yoga *sadhana*) through direct cognition. The *rshis* were said to have this capacity. But *rshis* were followed by those who lacked this capacity and had to be impaterd the capacity for the vision of mantra through *Sruti* (oration) and hence were *srutarshis*. The *rshis* imparted (*upadesena*

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[22] vide, Mookerji, p.29. Again: "I ask: what is the source of *vak ? Vak* or *Sabda is Brahma (Brahman yam vacah)*. The *Sabda* cannot comprehend so long as I am bound by the senses and objectivity (*ninahah sannadho manasa charami*). It is the dawn of *rta* (cosmic principle or supreme knowledge) which alone leads to the comprehension of *vak*" (1964:37) vide. ibid.

sishyopadhyayika vrttya) them both the words and the *mantras*. The hearing of the mantras with simultaneous undergoing of *tapas* awakened the latent capacities of *shishyas* to see *mantra*. The *rshis* with the aid of *Vedangas* expedited this process. This process of endowing the capacity of the vision for *mantra* through *Sruti*, *tapas* and *vedanga* is *sankarization*.

Vyakti-paraka and *Loka-paraka sankarization*

Vyakti-paraka sansakarization is the process of undergoing *sanskaras* at the level of an individual. This process is generally activated through three aspects viz.i) *karmakanda, ii) Asrama* and *iii) sadhana*. It is the *karmakanda sanskaras* which are commonly referred as *sansakaras*.[23]

Heramba Chatterjee Sastri observes:

> In the text of *Mitramisra* the exact nature of *sanskara* has been further classified.According to him *sanskara* is a peculiar excellence due to the performance of rites ordained (by the *sastra*) which resides either in the soul or the body and it also has been stated that it is of two kinds, one kind making a person eligible for performing other actions (e.g.*upanayana* renders a person eligible for *vedic* study) while another kind removes the evil taint that may have been generated (e.g. *jatakarma* removes the taint due to seed and uterus). *Rudra skandha* on *Khadira grhyasutra* opines likewise.[24]

As has been stated earlier, the individual life is a progress towards the four stages, viz. *brahmacharya, grhasha, vanaprastha* and *sannyasa* known as four *asramas* of individual life. This whole process of progress through *asramas* is *vyakti parka sanskarization*. There is

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[23] Raj Bali Pandey makes the position clear in the following lines:

It means religious purificatory rites and ceremonies for sanctifying the body, mind and intellect of an individual so that he may become a full fledged member of the community. But the *Hindu sanskaras* also confine a number of preliminary considerations and rites and other accompanying regulation and observances, all aiming at not only the formal purifications of the body but at sanctifying, impressing, refining and perfecting the entire individuality of the recipient.

[24] ibid.

another dimension to this as well. Since *asramas*, which have taken the form of *matha* in contemporary times are institutions which impart *sanskaras*, hence it can be said that *asramas* are the institutions of *sankarization*.

In the fourth chapter of this *prasthana*, we have briefly explained the aspect of *sadhana* as distinctive feature of *sampradaya*. *Sadhana* is a process which is undergone by an individual. Sadhana itself is a process of *vyakti-paraka sanskarization*.

Loka-paraka sanskarization takes place mainly in the various contexts of *achara*. Some of the contexts in which *loka-paraka sanskarization* takes place are, *Varna, Rastra, Desa, Janapad, Grama, Kula, Vrtti, Jati, Pantha* and *Yuga*. In the context of *Kula* there are again two dimensions i.e. *Matr* and *Pitr kula* or maternal (or paternal families) and *Gurukula*, which includes *asramas, mathas, guru's* residence, *sampradays*, etc.

The changing of *achara* by other *jatis* and adopting of the same of the *Brahmans*, had led to the process of *Brahmanization* as per Srinivas. This category of *Brahmanization* was later referred to by Srinivas as *Sankritization* to cover the taking up of *achara* of certain *jatis* of certain other *jatis*. This can be referred as *jati sanskarization*, as *sankarization* brings in definite changes in *achara*. The process of *sanskritization* is covered in by *sanskarization*.

Sampradaya and *Sanskarization*

The process of imparting of *sanskaras* of various *dharmas* is the process of the origin, rise and growth of sampradayas. *Sanskarization* among *sadhus* is at both levels i.e. *vyakti paraka* (pertaining to individual) and the other is *loka-paraka* (pertaining to the society). Since the *sanskaras* act at the individual level the *loka-paraka sanskaras* are imparted to the individual, even though they may have societal relevance. *Vyakti paraka sankarization*

specifically deals with the process of individuals *utkarksha* or progress, e.g. the common sixteen *sanskaras*.

As we have observed through out our *anvekshana* that *sadhus* in contemporary times play a role in imparting the *sanskaras* in every sphere of social life. Since the evolution of sampradayas is seen in the context of breaking up of *varnasrama dharma*. It became imperative on the part of *sampradayas* to impart *sanskaras* in various aspects of dharma, whose preservation, protection, sustenance and transmission became their *dharma*. It became incumbent on part of sampradayas to fulfill *brahmanya dharma*, *rajadharma, arjana dharma* and *seva dharma* apart from *sannyasa dharma*. The institutional growth of *sampradaya* can never be understood by ignoring this basic fact.

Brahmanya dharma and *rajadharma* have been more prevalent alongwith *sadhutva* in the course of *sampradaya*. The most important *sampradayas* in their organisation of *sadhus* have a distinct division between *sastradhari* (holders of *sastras*) and *sastradharis* (holders of arms) hence fulfilling the *dharma* of imparting *brahmanya dharma* and *rajadharma sanskaras* respectively. To sustain the above two their was a need for *arjana dharma*, i.e. to earn, in order to sustain *dharma*. For this purpose, various *mathas* and *akharas* have acquired property and have also entered into trading and business. *Sadhus* of the various *akharas* in the past have acted as mercenary warriors in order to fulfill this need.

Watching the misery and pain in the fellow human beings and need to serve the three *dharmas* mentioned earlier, their was need for *seva dharma*, which too had to be developed by the *sampradayas*. This was done through *seva dharma*. The *seva dharma* of *sadhus* included *loka-sangraha* and the serving those involved in *brahmanaya dharma*, *rajadharma*,

arjana dharma and *seva dharma*. Various sampradayas are involved in *seva dharma* as has been mentioned earlier in the *loka-sangraha sannyasa* and *pravartana sannyasa*.

Brahmanya dharma

There is not even a single *sampradaya, pantha, matha, akhara* or *khalsa*, which does not fulfill this *dharma* in one form or the other. *Brahmanya dharma* means learning, imparting and preserving all the existent *vidyas* and to create new if required so. The imparting of the *sanskaras* of various *dharma* to the society itself forms the basis of *brahmanya dharma. Mathas, akharas* and *khalsas* are the institutions which have evolved out of this requirement.

There are *pathshalas*, (schools), colleges, degree colleges, post-graduate degree colleges being run by *sampradayas*. Almost every prominent *matha* is running these institutions.*Kanchi Sankracharya* has founded a university in this direction. *Mathas* themselves alongwith *asramas* impart *sruti*, and *sastra* to their *antevasis*. In this *prasthana* we have mentioned the imparting of *brahmanya dharma* earlier. *Kailasa asrama* takes special pride in its ability to preserve the *Sruti parampara*. This entire process of imparting *brahmanya* in *Vyakti* (individual) and *loka* (society) is the process of *sankarization*. In context of *vyakti-paraka sanskaras* Angiras explains through an analogy: *Chitrakarma yathanekairangai runmilyate snaih, brahmanyamapi tadvatsyatsanskarai vidhirpurvakam* i.e. As an artist through different colours paints a picture, similarly, *sanskaras*, performed well induce *brahmanya* in an individual. This inducement of *Brahmanya* is referred by us as the process of *sankaritzation*.

Rajadharma

We have earlier referred to *rajadharma* as the dharma of the state. This is covered within the *kshatra dharma* of *varnasrama* system. But subsequently *rajadharma* became specific *dharma* in context of rule and governance. The breaking up of *varnasrama* led to another vaccum in the arena of *rajadharma*. Since *rta*, *dharma* and *niti* were subsequently used to mean similar aspects, *rajniti* becomes part of *rajadharma*.

Rajadharma apart from including the above aspect also includes the assertion of the will of *loka*. Hence it becomes imperative on the part of the individual to assert for *loka-sangraha* i.e. general welfare of the public. There is a mention of a students organisation of *brahmacharis* in *Ramayana* named, *Mekhalinama* Mahasangha (II.67) as approaching the king with statement of their views on public questions and grievances.[25]

The fullfilment of *rajadharma* in sampradayas is reflected through the emergence of *Ani, Akharas* and *Khalsas*. These organisations specifically covered the vaccum created in the arena of *rajadharma* due to the breaking up of *Varnasrama*. There are details available in the historical *paksha* dealing with this aspect although yet a comprehensive study of it has not so far available. Sarkar mentions of Rajendra Giri (1751-1753A.D.), Anup Giri of the same period who were the famous warriors of *Dasnami sampradaya*. He mentions the *nagas* fight against the Abdali. They are mentioned to have acted as mercenary warriors for various kings.[26] It is said that later these *nagas* retreated into estate management in central India and to the control of *Hanumangarhi matha* in Ayodhya and later claimed custodianship of *Ramjanambhoomi*.

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[25] vide, Mookerji, p.343.

[26] vide Sarkar, *History of Dasnami Nagas*.

Sarkar quotes another intersting episode from the *pothi* of the *Bhatas*:

At the *Kashi Kshetra* in *Samvat* 1721 (-1664 A.D.) they own the victory in a fight with the Sultan (? Aurangzeb) and gained great glory. From sunrise to sunset the battle raged and the *Dasnamis* proved themselves heroes; they preserved the honour of Vishwanath's seat. They defeated the Muslims Mirza Ali and Turang Khan ?) and Abdul Ali (p.87).

Farquhar provides an interesting account of the *sanskarization* of *sadhus* in *rajdharma.* which according to him was the revival of armed *sannyasis*:

> In the sixteenth century there were thousands of Muslim Faquirs who went about armed, took part in the wars of the time and when there was no regular war fought for their own land. One of their practices as good Muslims, was to attack and kill *sannyasis* as representatives of Hinduism. As ascetics, these Faquirs held a privileged position and were thus protected from violence and also from interference on the part of the Government which was then *Muhammadan*. Thus when *Sannayasis* were killed, no one was punished while *Sannyasis* themselves were presented from taking violent measures against their enemies by their vows of *Ahimsa*. Madhusudan Saraswati, a well known *sannyasi* scholar of the Saraswati order, who lived in Benares in the middle of the century, at last went to Akbar to see whereas anything could be done for the protection of the ancient order to which he belonged. Raja Birbal was present at the interview and suggested the way out of the difficulty. He advised Madhusudan to initiate a large number of non *Brahmans* into the *sannyasi* order and arm them for the protection of the *sannyasis*. (Ghosh : 13)[27].

The first freedom fight against the British was led by *sadhus*. In 1767, British controlled the venue of Bengal and Bihar through *diwani*, by abolishing the village based economy. "Previously the revenues were collected in terms of produce from the village unit but according to the freshly monitored system each individual villager had to pay their revenue not in produce but in currency. They had to sell their foodgrains to pay their dues and

[27] Quoted from the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, July 1925: *The Organisationa of Vedanta*, by J.N.Farquhar.

the British traders bought them at the cheapest price and sold back at very higher rate during the lean seasons. The peasants became poor "(Chandra [preface).

The similar situation was with the weavers of Dakha, who were led to famine in 1770 culminating in the death of the third of the population. It led to revolt, which was guided by *sadhus*. Throughout Bengal and Bihar people were led by "*sannyasis* and *fakirs*.[28]

Atis K Dasgupta observes regarding this process in history:

> As the erosion of village economy was transmitted through the unprecedented ruthless actions of the English East India company and its intermediaries who evidently constituted the new ruling class, the villagers, at the immediate stage of their perception, considered the departure from *rajdharma* (or the traditional conduct of the ruling class) as the major causal factor for their recent sufferings. There had been at the popular level, a certain area of agreement about the norms of *rajdharma* which, by and large, pivoted around two types of conventions: (1) the ruling class including their intermediaries should undertake some amount of benevolent public functions, particularly in times of natural calamities and (ii) they should avoid direct intrusion into the relative autonomy of village community life. The traditional norms of the ruling class or *rajdharma*, so long nourished in village community life, collapsed completely in the collective perception of peasants, artisans and traditional *zamindars*. The search of the insurgents for 'justice' included their urge to re-affirm their faith mostly on the traditional rulers because, it was hoped, the lost *rajdharma* could be regained that way and, in the process, the recent hardship of the peasants, the artisans and other members of the village community could also be mitigated. It was thus, a moral assertion for common justice. (ibid :117-118).

This moral assertion for common 'justice' by the *sadhus* was in fact a process of *sanskarization* of *rajdharma*, among the *sadhus* in particular and the 'peasantry' in general.

This process was expedited by the *pravachanas* (discourses) of *sadhus*. The tradition of armed preparation in the form of *akharas* played the role of an organised army which led

[28] The *sadhus* involved in this fight belonged to *Giri* and *Puri* of the *Dasnami sampradays*. During the Muslim period "the *Hindu sannyasis* were often reported by their Arabic name as *Fakirs* (Misra 1985:2).

the battle. The *sadhus* during that period were intimately involved in both "material and ideological world of the village". There tourings of the length and breadth of the country and *pravachanas* awakened *rajadharma* among the people.

Dasgupta further observes:

> Recent historical research has shown that dependence of the peasants on the organised religious groups did also take place in various parts of India in late medieval and early modern period during different uprisings and movements (ibid :120).[29]

The *Hindutva* Resurgence in context of the Ayodhya movement can be seen as an assertion of *Rajadharma* by the *sadhus*. There were attempts to initiate a debate in rewriting the constitution of India, and a few alternatives were also given by some *sadhus* in this direction as post Ayodhya developments. A similar assertion of sadhus was provided by *Rama Rajya Parishad*, a political party launched by *sadhus* under the leadership of Swami *Karpatriji*. The *Dharma Sangha* formed by him launched a powerful movement in the late sixties against "cow slaughter" and lakhs of *sadhus* filled the roads of Delhi. From *Akharas* to *Ram Rajya Prrishad*, to *Dharma sansad's* assertion in political matters is the assertion of *rajadharma* by sampradayas in general and *sadhus* in particular.

During our *anvekshana* it was clearly visible and various *sadhus* were in fact lamenting at the fall of *Rajdharma* and need for the society to the *sanskarised* in *rajdharma*. A few of them even said this that since *akharas* are no more fulfilling the role of *rajadharma*, for which they were meant, it often now leads to the fights among themselves. One such fight

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[29] For recent research in such movements see following papers of Irfan Habib and Benoy Chaudhary: (i) Irfan Habib: *Peasant and Artisan resistance in Mughal India, "Colloquim on International Labour Issues*, May 1980, McGill University, Montreal, pp.21-32 (ii) Benoy Chaudhary: *Transformation of Rural Protest in Eastern India* 1757-1930", in Presidential address *Modern History Section, Proceedings* of both session of *Indian History Congress*, Wallair 1979, pp.503-541.

was witnessed by us during the *Purna-kumbha*, 1998 at Haridwara. *Rajdharma* simply stated is the *dharma* of the state or the *dharma* of the people involved in the governance of the *Rastra*. Fighting against *aniti* (wrong policies of the state) and *anyaya* (injustice) is also *rajadharma*. To protect *dharma* and *rastra* is *rajadharma*. *Sadhus* of contemporary India find a continuous deterioration in this aspect of *dharma*, which has serious repercussions in the welfare of the society in general.

Arjana dharma

In the *varnasrama* system, the dharma of *vaisya varna* was to earn, i.e. *arjana*, for sustaining the *loka*. This *arjana* is not for the self, but for the welfare of the *loka* and those involved in it are custodians of it. Certainly the task of running *akharas*, its armed activities and its maintenance required huge resources, which becomes difficult to sustain through the charity. Hence some of the *akharas* and *mathas* for the sustenance of the institution undertook the task of *arjana* (earning) as well. We were told during our *anvekshana* that some of the *mathas* and *akharas* are involved in trading and related activities. Historical *paksha* has some evidences of it in the past as well.

Bhattacharya observes:

> A careful study of contemporary sources leaves us in no doubt that the *sannyasis* developed a wide range of trading and moneylending business which helped them establish closer contacts with various regions of India and even some Himalyan countries (p.6).

As observed by us during our *anvekshana* in contemporary times the *arjana* dharma is not a prevalent *dharma* in the *sampradayas* and still the task of running, and maintaining the institution is accomplished through charity. The process of *laukyaisation* is clearly visible in this aspect as often *arjana* is not for welfare, but to accomplish comforts for the oneself.

This has brought many *sadhus* close to *vimukha sannyasa* and even *chhadma sannyas*. But *arjana* being an essential component in the functioning of a society the *sanskarization* in this direction cannot be ignored by the *sampradayas*.

Seva dharma

Within the *varnasrama* system this aspect was covered by the *sudra varna*. *Seva dharma* is considered to be the *dharma* of this *varna*. But as the system broke *sampradayas* had to respond in this direction too. Service being an important sector was taken care of by the initiates of the *sampradaya* as has been stated earlier while explaining the stages in the life of *sadhu*, both in *akharas* i.e. *nagas* and *mathas*.

Seva dharma is in fact the culmination of *loka-sangraha* among *sadhus*. The concept of *seva* includes both the service aspect as well as *loka-sangraha* aspect. The *loka-sangraha* aspect of *sannyasa* has already been explained under *loka sangraha sannyasa*. The *sanskarization* in *seva dharma* is now being undertaken by *mathas* like *Kailasa Ashrama* also who earlier deplored this idea in the life of a *sadhu*. They considered it to be opposed to the spirit of *sadhutva*. In contemporary times the fullfilment of *seva dharma* is gaining popularity among the *sadhus*. The *sanskarization* towards *seva dharma* is one of the most important processes among the *sampradayas*.

Sevadharma is fulfilled by *sadhus* and *sampradayas* by running medical and educational institutions, by maintaining orphanages, by undertaking relief-work such as distribution of grains and clothes, medicine, powdered milk to the victims of drought, flood, earth eqake and other natural elamities.

Sadhus also take up the following areas of *seva dharma*. (1) Rural uplift and work

among labouring and backward classes. (2) Undertaking reformation work at holy places. (3) publishing religious literature and educating the masses. (4) Social work among tribals and backward classes. (5) Imparting *sanskaras* to the masses. (6) Building pilgrim-shelter (*Yatri-Niwas*).

Major *sadhu* organsations active in this director are *Ram Krishna Mission, Bharat Sevashram Sangh, Radha Swami Sangh, Anand Moyee Maa Sangh*, Divine Life Society which is also called *Shivanand Ashram* and has been referred by us by this name earlier.

The various other activities undertaken by *sadhus* in contemporary India are running of *Sanskrit pathasalas*, some *mathas* run even degree colleges and the *Kanchi Sankracharya* has begun working in the direction of opening up of an University. Various *sanskara kendras* are run by *sadhus* which pertain to discourses on *dharma. Pravachanas* (discussions) of some *sadhus* are so popular that they attract huge numbers. All these do have impact and impress the masses. Several of the people attending these discourses informed us the subsequent changes in their lives, due to the *sanskaras*, they got from these *pravachanas*. This change reflects the *sanskarisation* through the medium of *pravachanas*.

Chapter VII

Uttarapaksha
The Subsequent View

It is a paradox of "globalisation" that when *acharic* distinctions are proving more fragile than even a rope of sand, the *acharic* particularism is also been witnessed with simultaneous ascendence. There is another dimension to the whole process, "*achara* specifity" is now reaching beyond its "specifity". The categories of conversation in the age of information revolution are attaining "global character" despite of the *acharic* context in which they emerge. It is in this context that the categories of cognition and cognitive methods evolved in the discourse of western social sciences no more remain the only valid "modes of understanding."[1] It is imperative to look beyond the western social science tradition and explore new horizons. The categories of cognition and cognitive methods which provide the dimensions of variations through the study of various traditions without excluding the western social science tradition have to be evolved. The *acharic* context of the existing as well as emerging categories of cognition and cognitive methods as valid "modes of understanding" has to be explored. There is an urgent need for debate on the issue of valid and invalid cognition in the "post-modern" context.

Under this background of global flux, the study of *Sampradayas* is undertaken. *Sampradaya* and *Kula paramparas* (family traditions) are the twin processes which stand at the backbone of continuity since the first utterences of *Rg-sanhita*. The present study is

[1] It is in this context that new theoretical orientations emerged in the works of American anthropologists in the 70s and were called 'cognitive anthropology'. 'cultural analysis' and 'enthnosociology'. 'Cultural Science'.of Herder and Gadamer emerge due to similar concerns.

the study of selected *sampradayas* through *sadhus* in contemporary Indian society based on extensive *Anvekshana* and study of primary and secondary texts on the subject.

In this *prasthana* an attempt to understand and express what *sampradaya* is, as it exists among the *sadhus* in contemporary times had been made. The *sampradayas* selected for the study of *sampradaya* were not to study various *sampradayas*, but to study, the concept, structurative process, institutionalisation, operationalisation and *parampara* of *sampradayas*. In this *prasthans*, we also attempted to evolve an understanding of *achara* and *dharma* and their various contexts in *loka* in context of the subsequent understanding of *sampradaya* through *anvekshana* and re-interpreting the various *pakshas* related to the subject in light of the *anvekshika paksha*. Through this process we also attempted to ascertain the formation of *mata* and its institutionalisation through *guru paramparya* into the institutional process of *sampradaya*. The distinctive formations of *mata* and their subsequent institutionalisation on the basis of *achara, darsna* and *sadhana* in the process leads to eventual distinction among *sampradayas*.

Basing our understanding on the *anvekshika paksha*, in this *prasthana* we attempted to look at the organisation and the way of life of a *sadhu* in its inter-*sampradaya* and intra-*sampradaya* forms through institutions like, *matha, akhara, ani, khalsa,* etc. The organisational aspects of these institutions alongwith their struggle against the transplantative processes and *panchayatana* ways had been attempted to be understood. The stages in the life of a *sadhu*, the process of becoming a *sadhu* and the various forms of *sadhutva* alongwith the concept and notion of *vairagya* and *sannyasa*, the various forms of *sannyasa* culminating in various types of *sadhus*, too had been attempted on the basis of *anvekshana* and re-interpreted inputs from other *pakshas*, wherever relevant.

This *prasthana* attempted to understand the changes culminating in the process of *laukyaisation* in the various forms of *sannyasa* and changes . The stages in the life of a *sadhu* and the activities of *sampradaya* in general and in context of the breaking up of *varnasrama dharma* in general has been attempted to be understood through the process of *sanskarization*, which included the study of various aspects of *sanskaras*.

This *parasthana* is based on *anvekshana* and hence is a work of *anviksha-vidya* in general and *loka-anviksha* in particular. *Anviksha* is a study based on *anvekshana*, i.e. searched through seeing, through observation *Loka-anviksha* is a study of *loka*[2] on the basis of *anvekshana*. There are various *paramparas* in loka. This *prasthana* is a study of *sampradaya parampara* through *sadhus*.

Transplantative processes operative in the various domains of the non-western society have generated "a class" drawing sustenance from it and hence has an existential interest in perpetuating and protecting these process. In the process of our study, we found that the crisis of institutional transplanation is most grievous. The transplantative process of the "academia" generated through "university structure" through its "disciplinary divisions" was incapable of dealing with *sampradaya*. The linkages of christianity and university, of university and social science tradition and their evolution in the worldview of their own context and historicity does not make much sense, when approached to study *sampradayas*.[3] The *sampradaya* in the ancient seats of learning like Nalanda formed a distinct *anusasana* (discipline). Sampradaya which includes, the study of

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[2]*Loka* can be taken to mean society in its widest possible sense. In the western social science tradition, the concept of society itself is being rethought. The concept of *Loka* needs a detail and comprehensive study.

[3]Reflecting on the historicity of social sciences in general and sociology in particular Yogendra Singh writes, "The past of sociology, as of the most other social sciences lies in metaphysical philosophical traditions of Graeco-Roman origin, theological metaphysics of the middle ages and the social philosophical contributions of the periods of renaissance and the Enlightenment", *Image of Man*, p.24.

Guruparamparya, *mata* and its distinctions *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana*, understanding and study of *achara* and *dharma* with their contexts, all through with inter-*sampradaya* reflexive process alongwith other *paramparas of pantha, kula, jati, asrama, varna, desha-kala, janapad, grama, rastra, yoga*, etc. prevalent in *loka*, requires a treatment which is beyond the scope of transplantative process of "academia".

Through our *anvekshana* we had observed various institutions existing in the name of *asrama, matha, amanaya, peetha*, family, tradition, etc. Our search was for such an institution which provided us the locus standi for our study and liberated us from the transplantative institutional process colouring the observation through its own historicity. The institutional locus standi which we were searching required also to reflect on its own on the various processes existent in the *loka*.

We found mainly three kinds of institutions first those which were maintaining the continuity and have refused to take into account the changes which have occured around. These institutions suffered maximum from the transplantative processes and most of them either have become existent or are in the process of extinction. The second were those which had given up to the changes around them and their own *parampara* becomes one of the constituents of transplantative process. The third which are providing a new interpretations to their *parampara* in light of the changes which have occured. The example of the first being the Kailash Ashram, second being the Dayanand Ashram and third Bihar school of *Yoga*[4]. Swami Satyanand Saraswati regarding "Modern *sannyasa*" provides on interpretation saying that "*sannyasa*" is a quality of detachment applicable to everyone including *grahastha*. This is an example of the third kind.

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[4]These three are representativesof what is prevalent in others.

Our search was for such institutions which are still continuing their own *parampara* and are also attempting to locate the contemporary discourses from their own locus standii. We cound not locate any such institution during our *anvekshana*. But the institutions of the first kind provided us the base for the conceptualisation of the institutional locus standii in the form *Asram Rta* By exploring various *asramas*, *mathas*, *amanayas*, *peethas*, *akharas*, family traditions, non-*sampradayi sadhus*, and arranging them in an institutional form, we formed *Asrama Rta*. *Asrama Rta* provided the institutional locus standii for the study of *sampradayas*. *Asrama Rta* emerged as an attempt to locate the institutional context for the study of various *paramparas* existing in the *loka* amidst global flux. In this study we focussed on the *parampara* of *sampradaya* through *sadhus*.

Every *anviksha*, requires a tool, a method, to test its own validity. This method has to emerge from the context of study, which has to subscribe to the norm of *pariksha*-critical examination and verifiability. Such cognitive methods and the categories of cognition there of emerging through the process of contextualisation and *pariksha* culminating in *uttara paksha* becomes the reality of *anviksha*. The emergence of *anviksha vidya* is in context of *Asram Rta* which accepts the truth of various *paramparas*.

In this *prasthana* of *loka-anviksha*, we found the method of *anviksha* in the *sastratha parampara* of inter-*sampradaya* debate. The categories of cognition and cognitive methods applied in the debates had evolved in their historicity of *Vakovakya*, *vada*, *Anvikshiki* and finally *Nyaya*. These inter *sampradaya sastrartha parampara* no more exists, but these categories and methods have become part of the *darsana paksha* of each prominent *sampradaya*. It is in these *darsanas* that the reflection of *achara* and *sadhana* too can be seen. The *darsanas* institutionalised through *guruparamparya* become

sampradayas. Hence, it is not only from the point of view of cognitive methods that these categories of cognition and cognitive methods are important but also from the point of view of their forming the overall worldview of various *sampradayas* and their adherence to *sarvagamapramanya*, i.e. the various perceptions of reality are true. It was for self corrective measure that the *sastratha parampara* existed and by accepting the existence of *sarvagamapramanya*, they simultaneously, challenged the very methods adopted by the other *sampradayas* in the ascertainment of reality. This brought the whole debate in the realm of *pramanas*. *Pramana* which means both the instrument of as well as proof of knowledge (*anvekshana* is a *pramana* in both the senses) rested in the debate on *pramanyavad* i.e. validity and invalidity of various *pramanas*, and the category of pramana itself. There were scholars like *Nagarajuna*, *Sriharsha*, etc who challenged the very idea of *pramana*. The first question being on what *pramana* does *pramana* stand and the other being that *prama* (object of knowledge) itself remaining indefinable, how can depend upon *pramana* which is an intrument towards it ? *Madhva sampradaya* responded to this challenge by stating that if proofs do not exist, then nothing at all can be proved by such non existent entities. Either the *pramanas* exist or they do not. There is no middle course. If they are not admitted to be existent, they cannot prove anything. One cannot say that one will be indifferent with regard to existence or non-existence of *pramanas* and still carry on a discussion merely as a passive debater; for form of thought is such that they have either to be admitted as existent or not. One cannot continue to suspend one's judgement regarding their existence and non-existence and still deal with them in carrying a discussion[5]

5 This view is propounded by Jayatirtha of *Madhva sampradaya* one of the constituents of *Chatuh-sampradaya*.

The *advaita mata* of the *Dasnami sampradaya* says that *pramanas* too are mere processes of ignorance, *ajnana* and *avidya*, consist and their function is like in removal of the "obstructions" "veiling" "the unveiling" reality as removal of earth removes the obstruction of the omnipresent *akasa* (space). The *pramana* for them has the only function of manifesting the self luminous consciousness by removing the veil. Hence the ascertainment of the inevitability of the method of *pramana* can be done at two levels. First, it can be said that if *pramanas* are rejected, then no cognition is possible, there will remain nothing out of which *nirnaya* (ascertainment is possible). Such a case is not possible but even if such a case does arise, even then the act of cognition and their seeking validity on the part of individuals will not stop. The *pramanas* will remain their even though they are rejected. *Anviksha* provides an instrument through which they can be examined and verified and further evolved in the different contexts of reality. Second as is held by *advaita mata* and yoga *mata* that *pramana* being the vestiges in the way to *sakshatkara* (to be face to face) of reality are to be left on the *sakshatkara* of reality. Hence *pramana* are necessary till the state of ascertainment of reality is reached, after which it is no more required.

Pramanas are like grammar, even if one is not conscious of them, one applies them. *Pramanas* apart from being necessary on the part of being cognitive method and proof of cognition are also a *vyavaharika* necessity. Everyday action of in divided is also based on them. The *pramanas* from initially being the categories of debate and discussion developed into a full fledged methodological tool, which not only examined and verified the cognition, but also shaped the *darsanas* and their discourses and subsequently *sampradayas*. In this particular context *darsanas* themselves were institutionalised into

sampradayas through *guruparamparya* without excluding the *achara* and *sadhana* aspects.

Sampradaya as referred earlier is institutionalisation of *mata* through guru *paramparya*. *Mata* is ascertained on the basis of *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana*. It is essential to mention here that *achara* based ascertainment includes *darsana* and *sadhana* and *darsana* based one also includes the other two an so on. *Achara*, *darsana*, and *sadhana*, each can become the basis of ascertainment without excluding the others and get institutionalised through *guruparampara* to become a *sampradaya*. Each of these categories can explain in totality encompassing the others.

Guruparamparya is an unbroken chain of Guru Tradition i.e. when for the purpose of *mata*, i.e. *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana* in particular and any other in general (e.g. to learn some *vidya*), a *guru* transmits knowledge of it acquired from his guru to his *sishya* and the *sishya* furthers transmits to his *sishya* when guru is guru *parampara*. Guru *parampara* requires *adhikara* or *patrata* i.e. qualification to be a *sishya* of guru. In a life of a *sadhu guru* is all important, because it is he who through *praisha mantra sanskara* brings the *sishya* into the institution of *sannyasa*.

Sampradaya is institutionalisation of *mata* through *guru paramparya*. *Guru paramparya is sampradaya* with a *mata*. *Mata is sampradaya* having guru *paramparya*. *Mata* has various forms, it forms the *chitta* of *sampradaya* whose *vritti* are *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana* i.e. the sustenance and formation of *mata* is on the basis of *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana*, either singularly or collectively. When *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana* get institutionalised through guru *parampara* they become *sampradaya*. The distinctions among *sampradayas* is on the basis of *mata*, i.e. achara, *darsana* and *sadhana*.

Achara is the way of life (literally, behavior and conduct) people follow.It is a total way of life and its various aspects related to it reflected in human behaviour. We had taken *achara* in the context of *sadhus* in *sampradayas* to mean 1) *sanskaras*, 2) *upasya devta* and *sadhana*, i.e. object of worship and the path followed, 3) code followed, i.e. dress, colour of rokes, *tilaka*, instrument held, e.g. *chimta, kamandala, trishula*, etc, types of *malas* (rosaries), types of *danda* (staff), etc. and 4) rules and regulations followed by the *sampradaya*. *Achara* hence reflects life in its totality e.g. It also includes within its fold *jatyachara*, the way of life of a particular *jati, kulachara* of family, *desachara*, of region, e.g. cross cousin marriages in south.

It is evidently clear from our dealing of the various concepts related to *sampradaya*, that since *achara* plays the foundational role for *dharma* as well as role of institutionalisation through guru *parampara*, it is easily confused with *sampradaya* even by the scholars trained and learned in *parampara*. It is natural, as *achara* is what shapes the human behaviour, hence distinctions based on it are certainly going to fall under popular groupings. *Sampradaya* and *achara* became synonymous in various studies, due to the crisis of category-chaos. *Achara dharma* became, the *sampradaya* for works named under "Hindu sectarianism" and that too merely on the basis of u*pasya deva* i.e. diety worshipped.

This study is a *prasthana* (departure) from this conception of *sampradaya* and looks in the various aspects as revealed in the process of *anvekshana* to come out with a conception of a *sampradaya* so far not attempted. In the process it has also come out with the various contexts of *dharma* and their institutionalisation. The conception of *sampradaya* has emerged from *anvekshana* and the other *paksha* had been re-interpreted in its light. The ascertainment of *dharma (dharma nirnaya)* is based on this these contexts.

To our knowledge this fundamental aspect did not get uncovered previously. The context of *dharma*, which this work comes out with will reduce if not remove the "elusive nature" of *dharma*. The different contexts of dharma which we have briefly dealt in this *prasthana* are. *Ishta-purva dharma, Varna dharma, Asrama dharma, Varnasrama dharma, Lokasangrahaka dharma, Achara dharma, Vyavahara dharma, Naimittika dharma, Jati dharma, Svadharma, Vritti dharma, Kuladharma, Desa Kala dharma, Rajadharma, Sadharana of Samanya dharma, Guna dharma, Apad dharma, Rastra dharma, Janpada dharma, Grama dharma,* etc.

Earlier we have explained the relationship between *pramana, darsana* and *sampradaya*. In *darsana parampara sampradaya* evolved out of *guruparampara* through transmission of *darsana* from *guru* to *sishya* in an unbroken chain. The adherents of a *sampradaya* hold a *darsana*, whose validity through *pramanas* they contested in earlier times. This process of shaping up of *sampradaya* through *darsanas* creates the worldview of the adherents of the *sampradaya. Darsana* is understood as vision of reality and has a direct relationship with *achara*. Whether it is *Charvaka*, one who prescribes subscription to all sorts of cravings to *Sankara*, who prescribes abstention from any type of craving, it is the *darsana* which has shaped the way of life, i.e. *achara* of their adherents. *Darsanas* within the shat *darsana* system have to fulfill the *purasharthas*, i.e. human aims.[6]

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6 Cf. ethos and worldview with *achara* and *darsana*. In anthropological *paksha* as per Geertz, the evaluative elements have commonly been summed up in the term "ethos" while the cognitive existential aspects have been designed by the term "world view". A peoples ethos is a tone, character and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude towards themselves and their world, that their life reflects. Worldview is people's picture of the way the things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order....the worldview is made emotionally acceptable by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs which such a way of life is an authentic expression. The ethos is made intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life implied by the actual state of affairs which the world view describes and the worldview is made acceptable by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs which such a way of life is an authentic expression (Geertz 1973: 127).

The *sampradaya* formations through *darsanas* have mainly emerged in the various interpretations of *vedanta*, e.g. the advaita interpretation of *vedanta* gave rise to the *Dasnami sampradaya* apart from others. The *Visishtadvaita* interpretation gave rise to *Sri sampradaya. Dvaita* interpretation to *Madhva sampradaya. Dvaitadvaita to Nimbarka. Sudhadvaita to Vallabha*, etc. We have recorded twelve such different interpretations.[7] These *sampradayas* with *darsana* distinctions have *achara* and *sadhana* distinctions too and their *achara* and *sadhana* displays clear influence of their *darsana*.

Sadhana is to be understood in terms of *sadhya*, i.e. what is to be attained, whereas *sadhana* is instrument. Generally *sadhya* is *moksha*, hence *sadhana* becomes various *paths* leading to *moksha*. The *sadhana* based distinctions are distinct only in appearance, in actual essence they are similar. The *chitta* is to be stated in the goal and continuous perseverance in that direction is *sadhana*. When *sadhya* and *sadhana* become one in the realm of *chitta*, the purpose of *sadhana* is served. The *sadhana* has taken various forms, and to count them will require a preparation for an encyclopedia. The various forms of *sadhana*, when institutionalised through *guruparampara* become *sampradaya*. The forms of *sadhana* has given rise to many *sampradayas* and *pantha*. *Panth* being founder based or scriptural based also follows the *sadhana paddhati* (way of *sadhana*) of its propounder. A few examples of the various forms of *sadhana* taken up by various *sampradaya* are *jnana sadhana* by *Dasnami sampradaya*, *bhakti sadhana* by Sri *sampradaya*, *Pushti marga* by *Vallabha sampradaya*, *Yoga sadhana* by *Natha sampradaya*, etc.

Mainly there are *Karma*, *Jnana*, *Bhakti*, *Yoga*, *Tantra*, etc, forms of *sadhana* which have little *sampradaya* distinctions as each form of *sadhana* includes the other forms of

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7 The other interpretations are, *Bhedabheda* of Bhaskara, *Saivadvaita* of Srikantha, *Dipika* of Brahmananda, *Bhashya* of Vijnanabhikshu, *Ramanandi Vyakhya*, Yamunacharya's interpretations and Vidyabhushana on Chaitanya. There may be other interpretations too.

sadhana. The distinction whatsoever exists is in the stress on particular form alongwith the *achara* related to *sadhana*. *Sadhana* plays an all important role in the life of a *sadhu*. The life of a *sadhu* is considered to be life of *sadhana*. We have given a very broad definition of *sadhu* on the basis of our *anvekshana*. *Sadhu* is a person possesed by *vairagya* and (a) leading a pious way of life (b) leading a pious way of life and is in process of *sadhana* (c) is in process of *sadhana* through *Guru* (d) is in process of *sadhana* through Guru in *guruparampara* (e) has undergone the praisha *mantra sanskara* (through *guru* may or may not be in *guruparampara*). In this *prasthana*, we had dealt mainly with *sampradayi sadhus*, i.e. *sadhus* belonging to *sampradayas*.

Sampradayi sadhus are mainly organised in *mathas, asramas, marhis, akharas, Anis, Khalsas*, etc. Some of them are attached to *peethas*. *Matha* is a special form of organisation which acts as residence of *sastradhari sadhus* (i.e. holders of *sastra*). The *matha* can be a place for *sadhana* as well as learning. The *acharya* or *mahanta* is head of *matha* and *peethacharya*, if it is attached to some *peethas*. *Kailash Ashrama*, where we stayed is attached to *Kailasha peetha*. The *matha* is organised either on the basis of *Svayatana*, where the successor is the *sishya* of *mahanta* or *achara* or *panchyatana* i.e. through election or Hakimi , where it is done by the party which endows the *matha*. The *mathas* have a well defined hierarchy and allocation of roles. Sankracharya had established the four mathas at Joshi Matha, Dwarka, Puri and Sringeri. The *guru parampara* in these mathas is still maintained. There are several others mathas belonging to *Dasnamis* many of which belong to *mandaleshwaras*.

Mandalesvara is a *paramahansa sadhu* among *Dasnamis* who is a learned and is a high degree of *sadhaka* (one who is in the process of *sadhana*). *Mandaleswaras* are recognised by fellow *mandaleswaras* and *akharas* in order to become *mandaleswara*.

When any *sadhu* attains popularity due to his learning and *sadhana, sishyas* start flocking around him. This popularity and the strength of *sishya* (called *sishya-sangraha*) is institutionalised into the form of *mandaleswara* by *akhara* and other *mandaleswara* through public ceremony of *kumbha*. Some of the *mandaleshwaras* become the *acharya mandeleswaras*, who give *sannyasa-diksha* to the *sadhus* of *akhara*. The *sadhus* of *akhara* are known as *sastradhari sadhus* (i.e. holders of arms.).

Akharas are the organisation of *marhis* (in case of *Dasnamis*) and *dvaras* (in case of *chatuh sampradayis*), who are supposed to provide military protection to sampradayas, apart from following the individual *sadhana* by their *sadhus*. The *marhis* among Dasnamis are further organised into *davas*, which may be four or six out of the total fifty two *marhis*. These *davas* form the organisation of *akhara* on the *panchayat* an basis, where each dava gets a chance to head the *akhara* on the basis rotation. The charges are handled over at *kumbha*. The organisation of *akhara* is such that the rotation of power takes place from top to bottom of hierarchy, hence the power does not become the criteria of status, as it is only given for the managerial purposes. This *panchayatana* form of curbing the abuse of power among *akharas* is quite visible in the working of *akhara* observed during *anvekshana*. There are seven principal *akharas* among *Dasnamis* viz. *Juna , Bhairava, Avahana, Niranjoni, Mahanirvani, Agni, Ananda and Atal.*

Among the *Chatu sampradayis* the *akharas* are attached to three *Anis*, viz, *Nirmohi, Digambara* and *Nirvani*. Their being eight *akharas*, which has sixteen subsections having *baithakas* spread all over the subcontinent. Each *Ani* is attached to several *khalsas*. These *khalsas* are build on the similar pattern , that of mandaleswaras in Dasnamis. The difference is that one who is to become a *mandaleswara* is approached by *akhara* and other *mandaleswaras*, in case of building one's own *khalsa*, a *sadhu* has to

approach an *Ani* which recognizes it. The entire organisation of *Chatuh-sampradayis* alongwith *khalsas* is called *Chatuh-sampradaya khasla.*

The stages in the life of a *sadhu* of both *akhara* and *matha* have two *pakshas*. One is the *adhyatmika* (spiritual) *paksha* and the other is *loka vyavahara paksha*. The first *paksha* deals with the stages in the *sadhana* and second the stages in the hierarchy of *akhara*. As has already mentioned the latter is so evolved that the place for power is minimised, whereas in the former case the progress in *sadhana* determines the respect commanded by a *sadhu*. It is due to this precise reason that some of the *mandalaswaras* command high respect even than Sankracharyas due to their learning and *sadhana* even though they accept the authority of Sankracharya.

The stages in the life of a *sadhu* generally passes through six phases, i.e. *brahmachari, naishthika brahmachari, kutichaka, babudaka,* and *paramahansa*. In these the most prevalent form as per our *anvekshana* is *brahmachari naishthika brahmachari* and *paramhansa. Mandaleswaras* are *paramhansa sadhus*. In the *akhara* the organisational hierarchy is intervened with the *sadhana* aspect and a *Vaishnava naga* passes through the states of *yatri, chhora, bandagidara, haradanga, mudathiya, naga atito* and *maha-atita*. The organisational set up of both *akharas* and *mathas* is so structured that the way of *sannyasa* is made smooth and *vairagya* finds its natural culmination.

Vairagya is the state of possession of *chitta* of non-cravings in the subjects seen or heard. *Vairagya* is a state of mind, where the *karmas* of *loka*, no more remain interesting for an individual. When this state of mind discovered by a guru is institutionalised through *praisa mantra sanskara* in an individual it is called *sannyasa*. The individual undertaking *sannyasa* through this process can be referred as *sannyasa sadhu*. During the *praisa mantra sanskara*, an individual performes own *sradha* (crematory *sanskaras*) and is

supposed to have left the manushya (human) yoni (species) and enters in *praisa yoni* and hence is given *praisa mantra*. Now he looses the *adikara* for *gayatri mantra* and his mantra is the *praisa mantra*. Formally, sannyasa is the giving up of *nitya naimittika, kamya* and *smarta karmas* by taking *praisha mantra*.

The *sannyasa* took various forms depending on the state of mind of the individual at the time of taking *sannyasa*. When the *sannyasa* is taken in the ideal state of *vairagya*, it is *vairagya sannyasa*. When it is taken by passing through the various stages of asramas of *brahmacharya, grhastha, vanaprastha* and *sannyasa*, it is called *jnana vairagya sannyasa*. When an individual knowing the transitory nature of loka gets detached from it and undertakes *sannyasa*, it is called *jnana sannyasa*. When *sannyasa* is taken in pursuit of *jnana* it is called karma *sannyasa*. This *sastric* classification didn't explain the *anvekshana samagri* collected by us on the forms of *sannyasa*. Hence we had to further workout jatification of *karma sannyasa* and bring in *vimukha* and *chhadma sannyasa* into the jatification of *sannyasa*. The forms of *sannyasa* explained by the *sastric paksha* were also found during our *anvekshana* alongwith those which are mentioned other than those of *sastric paksha*. *Karma sannyasa* as per our jatification is *Nimitta sannyasa* and *Animitta sannyasa*. *Animitta Sannyasa* is what is called karma *sannyasa* in the *sastric* jatification. *Nimitta sannyasa* is of five types.

The first is *Atura sannyasa*, which is undertaken by an individual, when he is about to die that *Atura sannyasa* is explained by the *Sastric paksha*. The second *sannyasa* is *virakta sannyasa*, a *sannyasa* undertaken by an individual due to some personal loss, like, the death of some one close, loss of status, financial loss, etc. During our *anvekshana* some *sadhus* referred that such a *virakti* leads to *vairagya* also among some of the *sadhus*. And in those *vairagya* does not culminate, they loose in *sannyasa* and at times leave

sannyasa or do not remain true *sannyasi*. The third *sannyasa* is the *loka-sangraha sannyasa*, which is undertaken for social service. The fourth is pravartana *sannyasa* undertaken to propagate once own *darsana, achara* or form of *sadhana* through *sampradaya, pantha*, etc. The *Manishika sannyasa* is undertaken for the purpose of social change, change in social order on the basis of a *mata*, e.g. *Ananda Marg*. The , *sadhus* of *Anand Marg* want to change the society on the basis of their *mata* called Prout.

Vimukha sannyasa is undertaken under influence of the respect glory and power of the *sadhus* to be so and also to lead a comfortable life without much labour. Chhadma *sannyasa* is taken for the purpose of deciet by, spies, thugs, criminals, etc.

This jatification of *sannyasa* culminating into the various types of *sadhus*, reflects change in the nature of *sannyasa*. *Vairagya* is institutionalised through *sannyasa* and vairagya is the possesive state of *chitta* were the affairs of *loka* are no more interesting for an individual. *Sastric paksha* informs that this is the original *sannyasa* and the various forms of *sannyasa* which are formed other than *vairagya sannyasa* reflect change in the instititution of *sannyasa*. These changes display *laukya, sansarikta* or "worldiness" in them. The influence of *laukya* on the institution of sannyasa and its subsequent taking of various forms is the process of *laukyaisation* of *sannyasa*.

Laukyaisation as a process does is also the process through which the sruti is imparted in the *sampradayas* through guru to *sishya*. *Laukyaisation* is what brings various elements to *loka* (people). This is also seen when various terms of *sanskrit* enter the *loka bhasha*. On the one hand the imparting of *Sruti* in *sampradayas* is the process of *laukyaisation*, on the other hand the same process is the process of sanskarization. In this particular process, the process of learning on the part of the *sishya* from the guru is the process of *sanskarization*.

Sanskaras are understood in their three aspects, *utakarsha* (progress), *sannikarsha* (the process of the formation of *sanskaras* of "socialisation") and *abhushana* (refinement and ornamentation). *Utakarsha* aspect of *sanskara* is generally taken as *karmakanda sanskaras*, i.e the *sanskaras* performed at the various stages of individual life . In the life of a *sadhu* apart from the prevalent sixteen *sanskaras* which he undergoes in the pre-*sannyasa* stage, he has to undergo various other *sanskaras*, e.g. he performs his own *sradha* and undergoes *praisa* mantra *sanskara* as a process of formal entry into the institution of *sannyasa*. This whole process of *sansakaras* from birth to *praisa mantra sanskara*, is the process of *sanskarization*, where an individual leaves one stage of life to other in his progress towards *moksha*. The four *asramas* of *brahmacharya*, *grhastha*, *vanaprastha* and *sannyasa* is the process of *sanskarization*. The *sadhana* life of an individual in general and *sadhu* in particular is also a process of *sanskarization*.

Sannikarsha means the process through which "impressions" are left over *chitta* *sannikarsha* is the opertionalisation and generation of *sanskaras*. This takes place generally through *smrti* and *savikalpa pratyaksha*. As revealed during our *anvekshana*, for most of the *sadhus*, *smrti* includes conscious as well as unconscious memory. For them unconscious memory includes *prarabdha* (the *karma* of the previous birth). Hence the formation of *sanskaras* is also dependent on the *sannikarsha* of previous births. In *savikalpa pratyaksha*, the *sannikarsha* is through direct sense perception. The *chitta* of an individual is the cumulative effect of these *sanskaras* generated and operationalised through *sannikarsha*. The process of generation and operationalisation of *sanskaras* through *sannikarsha* is a process of *sanskarization*.

There are two levels at which the process of *sankarization* is operationalised. The first is *vyakti paraka sanskarization* (i.e. at the level of individual) and second is *loka*

paraka sanskarization (i.e. at the level of *loka*). *Vyakti paraka sanskarization* is the process and the stages of *karmakanda*, the stages of *asrama* and the process and stages of *sadhana*. *Loka paraka sanskarization* takes place mainly at the level of *loka* and its *achara*, which may be at the level of *varna, rastra, desa, janapada, grama, kula, vrtti, jati, pantha, yoga*, etc. The process of *sanskritization* as referred in sociological *paksha* is in fact the process of *jati sanskarization*.

The generation and operationalisation of *sanskaras* by the *sampradayas* in relation to loka is also an example of *loka paraka sanskarization*. The evolution of the *sampradayas* is looked upon as a process necessitated by the breaking up of *varnasrama dharma*. *Sampradayas* for many learned *sadhus* are seen as instruments to bring in "social order". It is in this context the *loka paraka sanskarization* by the sampradayas can be understood. This took mainly four forms viz. *Brahmanya dharma sanskarization,, rajadharma sanskarization, arjana dharma sanskarization* and *seva dharma sanskarization*. The division of *sastradhari* (holders of *sastra*) and *sastradhari* (holders of arms) *sadhus* are the examples of the *brahmanya dharma sanskarization* and *rajadharma* sanskarization. These two processes are most common phenomena among the *sadhus* of *matha* and *akhara* respectively.

The imparting of the *sanskaras* of various *dharmas* itself forms the *brahmanya dharma*. It is specifically concerned with learning. *Rajdharma* is for governance, protection and fighting against *anyaya* (injustice) and aniti (wrong policies) in the *loka*. *Akharas* apart from their *sadhana* aspect also dealt with this aspect of *loka*. *Arjana dharma* is to earn for the sustenance and welfare of the *loka*. The *arjana dharma sanskarization* has at times led to *vimukha sannyasa* among *sampradayas*. At times so has other aspects too. The *seva dharma sanskarization* leads to the offering of service to the

loka. These include the services afford for the functioning of *loka* as well as the services offered for the welfare of the *loka*. Therefore various *sadhu* organisations which have taken up the task of *seva dharma* on large scale. The *brahmanya dharma* and *seva dharma sanskarization* are on the rise among *sampradayas*, whereas the *rajadharma* is almost static with occasional resurgence, like the anti cow-slaughter movement in late sixties and *Ramjanambhoomi* movement recently. The consciousness towards *rajdharma* is on ascendence. The *arjana dharma* is not much prevalent as the main source is still the charity. A few *mathas* and *akhara* are indulged in trading and forming for the purpose of running their institutions.

In the opening chapter of this *prasthana* we told the story of our problems faced during our *anvekshana* and its eventual culmination into this *prasthana*. The crisis of the category of cognition and cognitive methods alongwith the crisis of transplantative processes were dealt in. The problem of category chaos and of various *jatifications*, were also explained briefly. The chapter being introductory briefly introduced the various chapters of this *prasthana*.

The second chapter of this *prasthana*, *"Purvapaksha* : An Overview" dealt with brief literature survey and the various approaches related to the study of sampradayas and *sadhus*. We briefly explained the *Sruti paksha, sastric paksha*, anthropological sociological *paksha*, Indological oriental *paksha*, *Historical paksha, Darsanic paksha* and *Anvekshika paksha*. At the beginning of the chapter we had explained the process of *purvapaksha khandana uttarpaksha*. The process through which with the aid of *pramanas* knowledge is ascertained and eventually leads to its growth.

The third chapter of this *prasthana*, "*Nyaya* and *Pramana* : Categories of Cognition and Proof" is an attempt to evolve a cognitive method within the context of the

study of sampradayas. The chapter dealt with categories like, *Anvikshiki*, Nyaya and its categories, *Pramana*, *Chitta* and *pramana*, *Pramana-Vihetana* (Deconstruction of *pramana*), *Pramanyavada* and the various categories of *pramana*, like, *pratyaksha*, *anumana*, *upamana*, *sabda*, *arthapati*, *abhava or anupalabdhi*, *aitihya*, *smrti*, *yukti*, *tarka sambhava*, *pratibha*, *uha*, etc. These categories of cognition and proof and their understanding is essential for the proper understanding of *sampradayas* as they are related to the historicity and growth of *sampradayas* as explained earlier.

The fourth chapter of this *prasthana*, "*Sampradayas* : Constitution and Distinction", was an attempt to understanding the concepts, structurative process, operationalisation and institutionalisation of *sampradaya*. It deals with *guruparamparya*, *dharma* and *achara*. The contexts of *dharma* and *achara* had been attempted to be ascertained. It also deals with the concept and notion of *mata* and its different forms of *achara*, *darsana* and *sadhana* in relation to *sampradaya*. We had given a brief description of various forms of *sadhana* like *Karma*, *Yoga*, *Jnana*, *Bhakti*, *Tantra*, etc.

The fifth chapter of this *prasthana*, "*Sadhu* : Organisation and Way of Life", deals with the concept of sadhu as an extentions of the concept explained in second chapter under "*Sruti-paksha*. The organisation and various aspects of *matha*, *asrama*, *Ani*, *akhara*, *khalsa*, etc had been dealt with the *mandaleswara* among *Dasnamis* and the *panchayati* organisation of *akhara* has also been dealt with the management and organisation of *matha* alongwith the struggle with transplantative processes in institutions had also been dealt with. This chapter dealt with identity and the stages in the life of a *sadhu*. The concept of *sadhutva* as a process of the formalisation of vairagya through *praisa mantra sanskara* and subsequent institutionalisation of *vairagya* as *sannyasa* has been attempted to be understood. It dealt with the concept of vairagya and understanding of *sannyasa* alongwith

the explanation of *praisa mantra sanskara*. Finally this chapter attempted to a jatification of *sannyasa* and eventual change in the forms of *sannyasa* culminating into a process of change which had been referred in the next chapter as process of *laukyaisation*.

The sixth chapter of this *prasthana*, *"Laukyaisation, Sanskara* and *Sanskarization"* deals the aspects of change reflected through sampradayas and sadhus. *Laukyaisation, sanskara*, aspects of *sanskara* like *utkarsha, sannikarsha, chitta* and *sanskaras* have been dealt. It dealt with *vyakti-paraka sanskarization and loka-paraka sanskarization* and finally *sampradaya* and *sanskarization*.

The final chapter of this *prasthana*, *"Uttarapaksha* : The Subsequent View", is an excercise in integerating and summing up the various aspects of this *prasthana* alongwith searching the new *anvikshas*, which can be taken up for future studies observed during this *anviksha*.

A *prasthana* is a *prasthana*, when it has points of departure from the *purvapaksha*. This *prasthana* is a *prasthana* in several ways. The first *prasthana* is its attempt to take up comprehensively the problem of "transplantative processes". The crisis of discourse in the arena of categories of cognition and cognitive methods and its subsequent resolution by attempting to write this *prasthana* through categories of cognition and cognitive methods emerging from the context.

The second *prasthana* is in dealing with the institutional transplantation and subsequently resolving it through the institutional locus standii in the form of *Asrama Rta*, which also emerges from the context of the study undertaken. The third *prasthana* is in locating the problem of jatification and in its context for the resolution of the crisis of category chaos. The fourth *prasthana* is in locating the various *paksha* for the study of *sadhus* and *sampradayas*. The fifth *prasthana* is the emphasis on the understanding of

Sruti parampara for the understanding of *sampradaya*. The sixth *prasthana* is the relocation of *anvekshana* giving rise to *anviksha-vidya* and its subsequent culmination into the *anusasana* (discipline) of *loka-anviksha*.

The seventh *prasthana* is the attempt to relocate *nyaya* and *pramana* as tools of cognition and subsequently the presentation of *samagri* collected through various *pakshas* including the *jatification* is an attempt to bring together the various aspects of *pramana* and their subsequent use in the rise of *anviksha*.

The ninth *prasthana* is the attempt to understand the concept structurative process, operationalisation and institutionalisation of *sampradaya*. The tenth *prasthana* is to relocate the various contexts of *dharma* alongwith that of *achara*. The eleventh *prasthana* is to ascertain the concept and notion of *mata* and its various formations leading to the distinctions among *sampradayas*. The twelth *prasthana* is to re-locate the context of *achara* vis-à-vis *sampradaya* both at constitutive level and distinctive level. The thirteenth *prasthana* is locating *darsana* as formative principle of *mata* and its subsequent institutionalisation into *sampradaya* through *guruparampara*. The fourteenth *prasthana* is the distinction between the concepts of *sampradaya, pantha, marga, achara, dharma*, etc.

The fifteenth *prasthana* is the process definition of *sadhu* and the understanding of the concept of *sadhu*, the sixteenth *prasthana* is the explaining the process of the becoming of a *mandaleswara*. The seventeenth *prasthana* is the locating the *dava* formation in *akhara* and its subsequent resulting in the *panchayati* organisation of adv*hara*. The eighteenth *prasthana* is drawing the similarities in the becoming of *mandalesvara* and building of *khalsas* alongwith the attempts of universal organisation by various *sampradayas*. The ninteenth *prasthana* is an attempt to comprehend the concept and notion of *sadhutva* through *vairagya* and *sannyasa*. A proper formal explanation of

sannyasa. The twentieth *prasthana* is the *jatification* of various forms of *sannyasa* on the basis of *sastric paksha* and the *anvekshika paksha*.

The twenty first *prasthana* is locating the process of *laukyasiation*. Th twenty second *prasthana* is attempt to understand the various aspects of *sanskaras*. The twenty third *prasthana* is locating the process of *sanskarization*. The twenty fourth *prasthana* is in locating the emergence of *sampradayas* in context of the breaking of *varnasrama dharma* and the subsequent process of *sanskarization* by *sampradayas* in *brahmanya dharma, mrajadharma, arjana dharma* and *seva dharma*.

The new vistas are opened up for the course of future studies during the course of this *prasthana*. In the realm of categories of cognition and cognitive methods further *anviksha* is required in different contexts so that the crisis of transplantative processs can be resolved. The evolution of institutional locus standii too requires *anviksha* on various aspects. We have mentioned in this *prasthana*, the problem of "disciplines in academia". A proper comprehensive study of "academia" requires to be done and its role in the context of various studies done. It also requires the study of various *anusasnas* prevalent since several millenia, *sampradaya* being one such. To relocate these *anusasanas* in context of various studies is an urgent need. It is through this process that the institutional locus standii will gradually emerge.

To relocate the historicity of the *darsanas* on a comprehensive scale is urgently required the various attempts like that of Dasgupta still have several gaps and inspite of running in several volumes, only play the introductory role. A Comprehensive relocation of historicity of *pramanas* is also required as they can play a role of cognitive methods which may solve many of the problems in the field of knowledge persisting time and

again. In this *prasthana*, he had just begun the process of relocation, which requires further *anviksha* and a task of full fledged study.

There exists no proper enumeration of the various *sampradayas* in *loka*. Prior to this is required the understanding of what *sampradaya* is ? The question has been answered by us in this *prasthana*. Now, a comprehensive enumeration of sampradayas can be undertaken. Gunaratanas's commentary on *shatdarsana samuchchaya* mentions that *Nyaya darsana* (which formed the basis for the second chapter of this *prasthana*) also had corresponding *sampradaya*[8]. Sankracharya also as referred earlier mentions of *vidya-sampradayas* and *grhastha sampradayas*. It is essential that we have proper comprehensive enumeration and understanding of various forms of *sampradayas* existing in *loka*.

This *prasthana* began with the story of our *anvekshana* and problems faced their in. During our *anvekshana* we discovered that the penchant for jatification is almost institutional amongh *sampradayas*. The story of a *sampradaya* begins with jatification. At the *ardha kumbha mela* we met one Ramayani Baba, who followed *Bhakti sadhana* through recital of *Ram Charitra Manas*. He had his own *jatification* of *sampradayas* and types of *sadhus* on the basis of *Rama Bhakti*, beginning with one of those who are *Rama bhaktas* and those who are not. Among *Rama bhakas* there are *Nirguni's* and *Sagunis* and so on. What we intent to say is that the study of the various processes of *jatification* is essential in the study of various processes in the *loka*. Without understanding the way these definition of self and others takes place, it is not possible to develop a proper understanding. The future *anviksha* on this aspect is essential.

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8 *Te cha danda dharah praudhakaupina paridhanah kambalikah pravrta jata dharino...uttamam sanyamavastham prptastu nagna brahmanti* vide. Brahma 1988. P.7.

The evolution of *sampradayas* on the breaking up of *varnashrama dharma* alongwith the unitary structurative process of *sampradaya* which brings together *sadhus* and *grhasthas* into a single structurative process, through human *jatis* clearly, finds the *paksha* that the "anti-structure" of *sadhutva* is a pre requisite for the "dialectiic maintenance of the entire caste system" is misplaced. Various *pakshas* mainly anthropological sociological *paksha* while dealing with a few aspects of *sadhutva* held that by negating the "structural world of caste" it exists in complimentary opposition to it and contributes to the stability of the total social order. The observation as this lack the sensitivity towards the historicity and the process of *sampradaya* as growth in context of the breaking up of *varnasram dharma* and maintenance of the *Sruti parampara* and other *paramparas*, through the continuity of *guruparamparya*. The independent growth of *sampradayas* and its relation to human jatis has to be further explored, which will also help in the understanding of *jatis*.

When *sadhus* return from the *sannyasa asrama*, back to the *grhastha asrama*, the process gives rise to the formation of new jatis.[9] This is clearly demonstrated among the *Dasnami Gosains* and *Nath panthis*. Even though this process is considered "deplorable", but these *jatis* over a period of time gain aceptance. Their *jatyachara* (*achara* of the *jati*) clearly reflects the influence of the *achara* of *sannyasa*.. Among the *Nathas* dead are not put on fire on cremation, as is generally done with ordinary death of *grhastha*, but they are kept in *samadha* (a type of "burial"). It is believed that *sadhu* does not die but attains *samadhi* rests in a kind of "super consciousness", and the *laukika* consciousness may return to him. Hence his body is kept in such a place like cave or underground or at times

9 We were informed by a few *Dasnami sannyasis* that Sankracharya had made the provision for their return to their respective *jatis* prior to *sannyasa*.

in river (called *jala samadhi*) so that he can find his body in such an eventuality. Thus the cremation practices of *Nathas* is a form which clearly demonstrates the influence of *sannyasa*. The study of such processes is yet to be taken at a comprehensive level.

This *prasthana* has explained the process of *laukyaisation* and *sanskarization*, these processes require to be further observed as they provide a perspective to comprehend change in *loka*. The *laukyaisation* of *sannyasa* and *brahmanas* is mentioned in this *prasthana* alongwith the process of *Sruti* and language. Similarly *laukyaisation* can be located in various other processes of *loka* e.g. due to the processes of "modernity", process of transplantative processes, etc. *Sanskarization* apart from what has been explained in this *prasthana* requires a comprhensive and detail analysis. One such case of *jati sanskarization* has been mentioned which requires further *anviksha*. There can be various other dimensions of *sanskarization* as *sankarization* of modernity, and *sankarization* of *loka* at the various levels of *achara*, etc. which can become the subject matter of further *anviksha*. Prior to this a comprehensive and detail treatment of the concept of *sanskaras* in its various aspects in all its historicity requires to be done. This is going to compliment the understanding of the process of *sanskarization*.

The various *darsanas, achara, sampradayas, panthas*, ways of *sadhana*, etc. each have their own *parampara*. Each *parampara* grows in relation to another. Each *parampara* is in dialogical relationship with other. Even though one *parampara* may deny the other, each *parampara* gets influenced by the other. If there is a change in say among *Dasnamis* relating to its *mata* the subsequent influence will get reflected among chatuh *sampradayas* and vice versa. The various *paramparas* grow in this way leading and making each *parampara* all encompassing. *Yajna* can explain all the aspects viz., *darsana, achara, sadhana* etc. so can *tapas* and so each aspects of these and others.

The growth of *sampradayas* in their organisational aspects clearly demonstrates this reflexivity. The building up of *akharas* and *khalsa* in *Chatuh sampradaya*, the *mandaleswaras*, *mathas*, *akharas* among *Dasnamis*, the *paddhatis* in *Udansina sampradaya*, the *panthas* in *Natha-sampradaya*, etc. have all grown and enriched through the method of incorporation from other *paramparas* on the principle of 'may noble thoughts from all over the world come to us'.

Other aspect is that with this vision of universal acceptance which exists even in denial has not compromised with the basic fundamentals. Each *parampara* in all its growth keeps its originality intact. The growth exists at the level of ideas. The basic categories through which these *paramparas* express themselves remain the same. These categories get wider meaning through incorporation and growth. The dogma at the level idea does not exist. *Sarvagam-pramanya* is the principle. All visions of realities have place under the sun. Each *parampara* may stick to its own vision, it may even enter into debate with the other *parampara* at times turning even violent, but such is the self corrective nature that the right to existence to all *paramparas* always exists.

This happens when *jijnasa* (pursuit to know) and *mumuksha* (pursuit to absolute perfection) are values given the highest precedence. It is this which takes individual to higher and higher states of reality only to know that more is to be known. The relentless perseverance to uncover the reality as it exists to know that this is not reality. It is something deeper and deeper. With each attempt, new horizons emerge only to say that the last sentence in the world of knowledge has so far not been structured. *Sruti* rests in *neti-neti.*

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